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ABSTRACT

This special member of the Journal Teangeolas is devoted to the theme of languages and language policy in Ireland. It contains the following articles: "English as a Foreign Language - Preparing for 1992" (Tom Doyle); "A Language Policy for Irish Schools" (Helen O Murchu); "Don't Disturb the Ancestors" (R. L. Davis); "Towards a National Language Policy: The Case for Russian" (S. Smyth, P. J. O'Meara); "Language Policy in Northern Ireland" (Rosalind M. O. Pritchard); and "Formulating a National Language Policy in the Emerging European Context: Some Preliminary Considerations" (Padraig O Riagain, Micheal O Gliasain). Notes on association and staff activities of the Linguistics Institute of Ireland, publications, and professional meetings and conferences, in English or English and Irish, are also included. (MSE)

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Teangeolas

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Journal of the Linguistics Institute of Ireland

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Teangeolas

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Foilsítear 'Teangeolas' dhá uair sa bhliain. Tá sí ar fáil saor in aisce ó:

ITÉ
(Institiúid Teangeolaíochta Éireann),
31, Plás Mhic Liam,
Baile Átha Cliath 2.

'Teangeolas' is published twice a year. It is available free from:

ITÉ
(Linguistics Institute of Ireland),
31, Fitzwilliam Place,
Dublin 2.

Is é cuspóir na hirise eolas a scaipeadh ar shaothar ITÉ agus ailt a sholáthar ar ghnéithe éagsúla den teangeolaíocht fheidhmeach agus ar fhoghlaim agus ar theagasc beotheangacha.

The aim of the journal is to disseminate information on the work of ITÉ and to publish articles on different aspects of applied linguistics and on the learning and teaching of living languages.

Eagarthóir: Íosold Ní Dheirg (ITÉ)

Editor: Íosold Ó Deirg (ITÉ)

Institiúid Teangeolaíochta Éireann
The Linguistics Institute of Ireland

Cúrsaí na hInstitiúide

(Tagraíonn na huimhreacha do thionscadail sa Phlean Forbartha 1988-92)

Sheol Breandán ó Cróinín, príomh-chigire sa Roinn Oideachais, Paipéar Ócáide 7, 'Teaching Irish in the schools: towards a language policy for 1992', le hEoghan Mac Aogáin in ITÉ ar 4 Aibreán, 1990. Is éard atá ann sintéis ar thorthaí taighde atá ar siúl in ITÉ le tamall. Pléitear na sonraí seo i gcomhthéacs 1992 agus nochtar tuairimí i dtaobh na bpolasaithe teanga is fearr a fheilfeas do riachtanais na tíre san am atá romhainn.

Féile na dTeangacha

Is cúis mhór áthais d'ITÉ a fhógairt gur tionscnaíodh Féile na dTeangacha faoi phátrúnacht Bhanc na hÉireann. Seoladh an Fhéile ar an 11-12 Bealtaine sa Riverside Centre, Cé Sir John Rogerson, BÁC 2. Osclaíodh an Fhéile Dé hAoine, 11 Bealtaine, agus leanadh léi an lá dár gcionn nuair a chuir daoine óga ó scoileanna roghnaithe idir imeachtaí stáitse agus taispeántais in iliomad teangacha i láthair an phobail.

Tosóidh an Fhéile féin sna scoileanna ag tús na scoilbhliana seo chugainn agus is ar bhonn comórtais a reáchtálfar í, idir imeachtaí ardáin, chomórtais neamhardáin agus díospóireachtaí. Táthar ag súil go n-eagrófar Lá na dTeangacha sna scoileanna i gcaoi go mbeidh an oiread daltaí agus is féidir páirteach san Fhéile go háitiúil. Ansin roghnófar imeachtaí ar leith ar ardchaighdeán don Fhéile Náisiúnta a bheidh ar siúl i mBaile Átha Cliath níos faide anonn sa scoilbhliain. Díreofar an Fhéile ar na scoileanna dara leibhéil ar dtús ach leathnófar amach chuig gach leibhéal den chóras oideachais amach anseo í.

Is í príomhaidhm na Féile ná teangacha a chur chun cinn i measc aos óg na tíre ar bhonn taitneamhach, ciallmhar, agus comhthuiscint agus comhoibriú a chothú idir na náisiúin. Tá lán-tacaíocht geallta ag na hambasáidí, ag na forais chultúrtha agus ag cumainn na múinteoirí teanga don Fhéile. Chuidigh siad go mór le hITÉ le dhá bliain anuas agus an plean seo á dhréachtú. Táimid go mór faoi chomaoin acu dá réir.

Is iad teangacha na Féile go dtí seo Fraincis, Gaeilge, Gearmáinis, Iodáilis, Rúisis, Seapáinis, Spáinnis, agus Teanga Chomharthaíochta na mBodhar. Bronnfar duaiseanna sna catagóirí éagsúla a chuirfidh le forbairt scileanna teanga na mbuaiteoirí. Beidh duaiseanna speisialta le gnóthú ag ógtheangeolaithe sármhaithe i ngach aoisghrúpa.

Is cinnte go mbeidh ról ag gach éinne faoi bhrat na Féile, pé acu micléinn, múinteoirí nó tuismitheoirí iad, fostóirí nó fostaithe, aonteangaigh nó ilteangaigh. Bígí linn!

Tuilleadh eolais ó Ghráinne Ní Lúbaigh, eagraí na Féile, teil. (01)765489.

Institute Matters

(The numbers refer to projects in the Development Plan 1988-92)

Breandán Ó Cróinín, chief inspector in the Department of Education, launched Occasional Paper 7, 'Teaching Irish in the schools: towards a language policy for 1992', by Eoghan Mac Aogáin in ITÉ on 4th April, 1990. The new publication consists of a synthesis of data resulting from research carried out in ITÉ for some time past. The data are discussed in the context of 1992 and some views are expressed respecting the language policies best suited to the country's requirements in coming times.

The Festival of Languages

ITÉ is pleased to announce that it has launched a Festival of Languages under the sponsorship of the Bank of Ireland. The Festival was launched on the 11th-12th May in the Riverside Centre, Sir John Rogerson's Quay, Dublin 2. It opened on Friday evening (11th), continuing the following day, when young people from a selection of schools presented both stage events and exhibition work to their audience in a variety of languages.

The Festival proper will begin early in the next school year and will be organised on a competitive basis comprising stage events, non-stage competitions and debates. It is hoped that schools will organise Language Days so as to encourage the participation of as many pupils as possible on a local basis. Presentations achieving a high standard will be chosen for participation in the national Festival of Languages which will take place in Dublin later on in the school year. In the beginning, the Festival will concern itself primarily with second-level schools, but it is hoped to extend it ultimately to all levels of the educational system.

The main aims of the Festival are to promote languages in an enjoyable and meaningful setting among the young, and to nurture mutual understanding and cooperation between nations. Full support has been promised by the embassies, cultural institutes and language teachers' associations. Their assistance in developing the project with ITÉ over the past two years is much appreciated.

French, German, Irish, Italian, Japanese, Russian and the Sign Language of the Deaf are the languages of the Festival to date. It is intended that prizes aimed at developing the students' language skills will be awarded in the various categories. Special prizes will be presented to exceptional young linguists in different age-groups.

There is no doubt but that all will have a role to play in the Festival, be they students, teachers or parents, employers or employees, monolinguists or multilinguists. Join us!

Further information from Gráinne Ní Lúbaigh, festival organiser, tel. (01)765489.

Socheolaíocht Teanga

1.3 *Buanú agus athrú teanga sa Ghaeltacht.* Tá fáil anois ar thuairisc ar athruithe idir scoileanna ar dháileadh na ndeontas £10 sa Ghaeltacht. Tá staidéar Chorca Dhuibhne á réiteach anois don chlódóir.

1.4 *Saintréithe cainteoirí Gaeilge.* Tá an dréacht deiridh de staidéar ar dháileadh réigiúnda agus sóisialta na gcainteoirí Gaeilge in *Daonáireamh na hÉireann 1981* á ullmhú faoi láthair.

I dteannta na staidéar thuas ar chuid dhílis de Phlean Forbartha ITÉ 1988-92 iad, tá an rannóg gafa le tionscadail eile. Tá an chéad cheann idir lámha ó lár 1989: bailiú ábhar le haghaidh scrúdú ar phátrúin foghlama an dara teanga sa CE agus ar a n-impleachtaí agus impleachtaí polasaithe an CE d'Éirinn. Léadh páipéar ar an ábhar seo ag cruinniú in Frankfurt anuraidh agus gheofar alt gearr faoi san eagrán seo de *Teangeolas.*

Choimisiúnaigh Bord na Gaeilge an rannóg chun tuarascáil a sholáthar faoi dheireadh Aibreáin, 1990, i dtaobh na sonraí agus an taighde is gá chun córas cuimsitheach monatóireachta ar pholasaí teanga a leagan amach.

Tugadh cuireadh do Phádraig Ó Riagáin páipéar a léamh ag comhdháil idirnáisiúnta ar athbheochan teanga a thionólfar in Iarúsailéim i mí Dheireadh Fómhair mar chomóradh ar chéad bliain tús ré na Nua-Eabhraise.

Teangeolaíocht Struchtúrtha

1.1a *Gaeilge Chorca Dhuibhne. 1.1b Suirbhé na mBunmhúinteoirí.* Tá na dréachtanna deiridh a bhaineann leis an dá thionscadal thuas réidh. Tá an dréacht a bhaineann le 1.1a curtha i dtreo na gclódóirí. Beidh suirbhé 1.1b réidh le foilsiú faoi mhí Mheithimh. Is í Institiúid Ardléinn BÁC a fhoilseos saothar 1.1a, ach is í ITÉ a fhoilseos an tuairisc ar 1.1b.

Tá sé i gceist ach an dá shaothar a bheith foilsithe leabhráin ghairide phraiticiúla a fhoilsiú ina mbeidh cur síos ar na difríochtaí is suntasaí idir an caighdeán oifigiúil agus na beochanúintí. Déanfar trí leabhrán, ceann ag freagairt do gach canúint. Don ghnáthléitheoir iad na leabhráin seo agus ní bheidh siad rótheicniúil.

1.2a *Úrchúrsa Gaeilge.* Tá athscríobh iomlán nach mór déanta ar ábhar an Úrchúrsa agus tá an obair le plé ag seimineár i mí na Bealtaine. Déanfar na hathruithe deireanacha ansin agus cuirfear an leabhar i gcló. Ní bheidh ach dhá leabhar san eagrán nua. Tá súil an t-iomlán a fhoilsiú roimh dheireadh an fhómhair.

1.2e *Cúrsa speisialta don aos fásta: II. BunGhaeilge do thuismitheoirí.* Tá an leagan leasaithe foilsithe le tamall anuas.

Sociology of Language

1.3 *Language maintenance and language change in the Gaeltacht.* The study on inter-school variation in awards of the £10 grant in the Gaeltacht has been published. The Corca Dhuibhne study is now being prepared for publication.

1.4 *Characteristics of Irish speakers.* A final draft of a study of the regional and social distribution of Irish speakers in the *Census of Population 1981* is being prepared.

In addition to these research studies, which are included as part of ITÉ's Development Plan 1988-92, the division has become involved in some other assignments. The first of these has been in progress since mid-1989. The division has been assembling material for an examination of the current patterns of second language teaching within the EC and the policy implications of these patterns and EC policy for Ireland. A paper on this topic was presented at a conference in Frankfurt last year and a short paper on the same topic is also included elsewhere in this issue of *Teangeolas.*

The division has been commissioned by Bord na Gaeilge to prepare a report on the data and research required to set up a comprehensive monitoring system on language policy. The report is to be completed by the end of April 1990.

Pádraig Ó Riagáin has been invited to deliver one of the plenary papers at the forthcoming international conference on language revival in Jerusalem in October. The conference will commemorate the centenary of the modern phase of Hebrew.

Structural Linguistics

1.1a *The Irish of West Kerry. 1.1b The primary teacher survey.* The final versions of these two projects have been completed. 1.1a, which is with the printer, will be published by the Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies. The survey will be ready for publication in June by ITÉ.

Following publication of these items, it is hoped to produce a series of short, practical booklets describing the main differences between the official standard and the living dialects. One booklet will be devoted to each dialect. The booklets will not be too technical, as they are intended for the general reader.

1.2a *Úrchúrsa Gaeilge.* The course content has been almost entirely rewritten and the revised version will be discussed at a seminar in May. Final alterations will then be made and the book sent to the printer. The new edition will contain two books instead of three, as in the original version. The course will be published by the end of next autumn.

1.2e *Special course for adults: II. Basic Irish for parents.* The revised edition was published some time ago.

2b *Teanga chomharthaíochta na mbodhar in Éirinn.* Tá múinteoir de chuid na mbodhar ag obair ar anailís a dhéanamh ar na físteipeanna eiseamláireacha a rinneadh don tionscadal seo. Bhí roinnt seimineár againn tamall ó shin a chuidigh go mór dlús a chur leis an obair thras-scríofa.

Rinne Dónall P. Ó Baoill eagarthóireacht ar *Teanga 10* a foilsíodh i mí Mhárta, 1990, agus tá sé ina eagarthóir teangeolaíochta ar *Ar Aghaidh Linn* - cúrsa Gaeilge do na Gardaí a bhfuil athscríobh á dhéanamh air faoi láthair. Chomh maith leis sin, tá sé páirteach i gcúrsa Gaeilge atá á scríobh faoi choimirce Choiste Gairmoideachais BÁC. Is cúrsa é seo atá dírithe ar pháistí laga sna hiarbhunscoileanna.

Tá eagarthóireacht á déanamh ar na léachtaí agus ar an díospóireacht a rinneadh ar Lárchanúint don Ghaeilge ag seimineár a tionóladh i mí na Samhna, 1988. Foilseofar iad ag tús an tsamhraidh.

Tá dul chun cinn maith déanta ag Diarmaid Ó Sé ar an eagrán nua de *Teach Yourself Irish* atá á scríobh aige. Foilseofar an t-eagrán nua an bhliain seo chugainn.

Bhí an rannóg páirteach in eagrú seimineáir ar chóras litrithe na Gaeilge - laigí agus buanna. Is comhsheimineár idir ITÉ agus Bord na Gaeilge a bhí ann. Tionóladh ar 4ú/5ú Bealtaine, 1990, in Áras Bhord na Gaeilge é agus bhí lucht oideachais agus teangeolaithe páirteach ann.

Síctheangeolaíocht

Scéim phíolótach i dteagasc na Gaeilge: ITÉ agus Aonad Curaclaim na Roinne Oideachais.

Táthar i mbun anailíse ar shonraí a d'eascair as grinnstaidéar a rinneadh i gcomhar leis na cigirí bunscoile ar theagasc na Gaeilge labhartha i scór scoil i mBealtaine/Meitheamh 1989. Chomh fada agus ab'fhéidir, roghnaíodh ranganna a léirigh raon iomlán na ndálaí sóisialta, oideachasúla agus teanga ina mbíonn an Ghaeilge á teagasc sna gnáthbhunscoileanna faoi láthair. Bailíodh go leor sonraí a d'eascair as dírbhreithniú córasach sa rang, as ceistneoirí a chomhlánaigh tuismitheoirí, daltaí agus na hoidí agus as trialacha teanga agus cumais ar na daltaí. Beidh fáil ar thuairisc ar dhearcadh na dtuismitheoirí roimh an samhradh. Eiseofar réamhthuarascálacha ar ghnéithe eile den taighde de réir mar a chríochnófar anailís na míreanna éagsúla den taighde. Tabharfar tús áite do na sonraí a bhaineann le dírbhreithniú.

2.1 *Réamhinsint ar chumas labhartha na Gaeilge.*

Rinneadh anailís ar na coibhnis idir athróga teanga agus teagaisc, athróga daltaí aonair agus cumas labhartha na Gaeilge, bunaithe ar sonraí a bailíodh i 1985. Díríodh aird ar leith ar chomparáid idir gnóthachtáil daltaí ardchumais agus daltaí lagchumais a múintear méid áirithe ábhar as Gaeilge dóibh i ngnáthscoileanna, chomh maith le scoileanna lán-Ghaeilge agus scoileanna Gaeltachta. Eiseofar tuairisc air seo i mí Bealtaine.

2b *The sign language of the deaf in Ireland.* A teacher of the deaf is engaged on analysis of the sample videos which were made for the project. A series of seminars was held some time ago which greatly facilitated the task of transcription.

Dónall P. Ó Baoill edited *Teanga 10*, which was published in March, 1990. He is also linguistic editor of *Ar Aghaidh Linn*, an Irish course for the Gardaí, which is at present in course of revision. He is also participating in writing an Irish course under the auspices of Dublin City Vocational Education Committee. The course is intended for weaker pupils in post-primary schools.

The lectures and discussion arising from the seminar, Lárchanúint don Ghaeilge (a core dialect for Irish), held in November 1988, are being edited at present. They are due to be published in the early summer.

Preparation by Diarmaid Ó Sé of a new edition of *Teach Yourself Irish* is advancing satisfactorily. Publication is expected next year.

The department participated in a seminar on the Irish spelling system - weaknesses and strengths. Organised jointly by ITÉ and Bord na Gaeilge, the seminar was held on 4th/5th May, 1990, in Bord na Gaeilge and was attended by educationalists and linguists.

Psycholinguistics

Pilot scheme for the teaching of Irish: ITÉ and the Curriculum Unit of the Department of Education.

Analysis of data from an indepth study of the teaching of spoken Irish in twenty schools, carried out in association with the primary inspectorate in May/June 1989, is in progress. The classes were selected to represent as nearly as possible the full range of social, linguistic and educational circumstances in which Irish is taught in ordinary primary schools at present. A wide range of data was collected on the basis of systematic classroom observation, parent, pupil and teacher questionnaires, as well as ability and linguistic tests administered to pupils. It is hoped to publish an account of parents' views before the summer. Preliminary reports on other aspects of the research will be published as the relevant analyses are completed, with priority being given to the direct-observation data.

2.1 *Prediction of achievement in spoken Irish.*

An analysis of the relationship between a range of linguistic, teaching and individual pupil variables and proficiency in spoken Irish was carried out using data collected in 1985. Particular attention was given to a comparison of the achievement in spoken Irish of pupils of higher and lower academic ability who receive some Irish medium instruction in ordinary schools, or who attend all-Irish or Gaeltacht schools. A paper reporting this work will be available in May.

Ar na tionscadail eile atá bainteach le teagasc na Gaeilge a rinneadh d'eagrais lasmuigh bhí (a) ullmhú suíomhpháipéir ar mheasúnú scéim oideachais agus (b) réiteach ceistneora do phríomhoidí.

Work on the teaching of Irish carried out for outside bodies includes (a) the preparation of a position paper on programme evaluation and (b) the development of a questionnaire for school principals.

Tá sainuimhir de *Language, Culture and Curriculum* dar teideal 'Evaluation of second-language programmes: process and product' á cur in eagar ag John Harris. Gheofar ailt inti a scríobh saineolaithe a bhfuil cáil idirnáisiúnta gnóthaithe acu sa réimse seo. Foilseofar níos faide anonn sa bhliain í.

A special issue of *Language, Culture and Curriculum* entitled 'Evaluation of second-language programmes: process and product' is being edited by John Harris. The issue will appear later in the year. It includes contributions from a number of internationally recognised experts in this area.

Nuatheangacha

Modern Languages

Foilseofar eagrán leasaithe de *Salut! 1* sa samhradh. Tá athruithe teicniúla a bhaineann le scrúdú an Teastais Shóisearaigh san áireamh sa chúrsa nua mar aon le hábhar trialacha iomchuí do na múinteoirí.

The revised edition of *Salut! 1* will be published during the summer. The new course takes account of technical adjustments for the forthcoming Junior Certificate examination and provides teachers with appropriate test material.

1.1 *An Ghearmáinis do dhaltaí sóisir.* Tá leabhrán an mhúinteora a ghabhann le *Wie geht's 2* ag an gclódóir.

1.1 *German for the junior cycle.* The teacher's notes for *Wie geht's 2* are in press.

1.3 *Ábhair bhreise múinteoireachta don Fhraincis agus don Ghearmáinis* Tá ábhair bhreise do dhaltaí sinsir idir lámha. Díreoidh siad ar fhorbairt scileanna éisteachta agus labhartha do bhéaltriail na hArdteiste.

1.3 *Supplementary teaching materials for French and German.* The materials for senior cycle pupils are in preparation. The main focus is on developing students' listening and speaking skills, with particular reference to the oral examination at Leaving Certificate.

2.4 *Gréasáin idirscoileanna.* Chríochnaigh brainse na hÉireann den *Réseau Vidéo Correspondance* sraith ceardlann do mhúinteoirí na ndaltaí a bhaineann leas as 'litreacha fístéipe' le teagmháil le scoileanna sa Fhrainc. Leasófar an clár agus leanfar leis an bhliain seo chugainn.

2.4 *Inter-school networks.* The Irish branch of the *Réseau Vidéo Correspondance* has completed a series of workshops for teachers whose pupils are now corresponding with schools in France by means of 'video-letters'. The programme will be continued and developed further next year.

2.5 *Clár na Spáinnise.* Cuireadh leis na hábhair éisteachta agus beidh fáil ar méid áirithe modúl go luath sa scoilbhliain seo chugainn.

2.5 *The Spanish programme.* Supplementary listening materials for senior cycle are in preparation and a number of modules will be available early in the coming school year.

Foilsíodh *The Language Teacher/An Múinteoir Teanga*, iml. 2, uimh. 2. Foilseofar iml. 3, uimh 1 i Mí Bealtaine.

The Language Teacher/An Múinteoir Teanga, vol. 2, no. 2 has been published. Vol. 3, no. 1 will appear in May.

Tá cúrsa inseirbhíse do mhuinteoirí Fraincise Choiste Gairmoideachais BÁC á eagrú. Tá ábhair teagaisc á n-ullmhú i gcomhar le hAonad Forbartha Curaclam Choláiste na Tríonóide agus leis an gCoiste Gairmoideachais do dhaltaí de chuid an Choiste a thabharfaidh faoin nGaeilge i scrúdú an Teastais Shóisearaigh.

Inservice training is being provided for teachers of French in Dublin City V.E.C. schools. In a collaborative undertaking with the Curriculum Development Unit (T.C.D.) and Dublin City Vocational Education Committee, materials are being developed to meet the needs of pupils preparing for the new Junior Certificate examination in Irish in Dublin City V.E.C. schools.

Tosaíodh ar obair thrialach ar mheasúnú agus ar dheimhniú cumais an aosfhoghlaimeora teanga.

Experimental work in assessment and certification for adult foreign language learning has commenced.

Carmel Ní Mhuircheartaigh

D'fhág Carmel Ní Mhuircheartaigh, rúnaí ITÉ, slán againn i mí Márta chun dul le hord rialta.

I 1968 a tháinig sí ar iasacht ón Roinn Oideachais ar dtús chun cabhrú leis an Athair Colmán Ó Huallacháin,O.F.M, sa Teanglann i Rinn Mhic Gormáin, as ar eascair Institiúid Teangeolaíochta Éireann ina dhiaidh sin. Nuair a d'aistrigh an tAthair Colmán go dtí an ardchathair, chuaigh Carmel i mbun riaradh an fhorais nua. Chomhlíon sí na dualgais iomadúla a ghabhann le riarachán, agus go deimhin dualgais eile gan áireamh anseo nár bhain ach go hindíreach lena post, go héifeachtach, cneasta, críochnúil, tuisceanach. Agus bhíodh sí suairc soilbhir i gcónaí i mbun oibre di.

Chuir sí comaoin mhór ní hamháin ar an fhoireann ach ar an gcúigear stiúrthóirí a chaith seal i mbun ITÉ ó bunaíodh í. Ní háibhéil a rá go mba í croí agus snáth uama ITÉ í. Aireoidh muid uainn go mór í.

Cumhdach Dé uirthi sa ghairm uasal atá roghnaithe aici.

Carmel Ní Mhuircheartaigh

Carmel Ní Mhuircheartaigh, secretary of ITÉ, bade us farewell in March to enter a religious order.

It was in 1968 that she was first seconded by the Department of Education to assist Father Colmán Ó Huallacháin, O.F.M., in the Language Laboratory set up in Gormanston, later to become Institiúid Teangeolaíochta Éireann. When Father Colmán moved to Dublin, Carmel took over the administration of the new institute. She carried out her many and varied administrative duties with a high degree of efficiency, openness, thoroughness and understanding. Many other tasks only marginally connected with the responsibilities of her post she also discharged cheerfully as was her wont.

Not only the staff, but also those - five in all - who served at various times as directors of ITÉ are greatly beholden to her for her co-operation and service over the years. It is no exaggeration to say that she was indeed the heart of ITÉ and the thread which bound its constituent parts together. She will be greatly missed.

Our best wishes go with her in her new life.

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LANGUAGES AND LANGUAGE POLICY IN IRELAND

'Nous avons besoin de mobiliser tous les moyens européens pour défendre notre identité culturelle ... nos langues, nos cultures européennes sont en péril et la disparition d'une langue, c'est la disparition d'un peuple.'

- François Mitterand
(Le Nouvel Observateur, 1290, 1989:25-6)

The above admirably reflects the preoccupations of major European nations like France, but also, more acutely, those of smaller countries like Ireland. For this reason, it has been chosen to be 'en vedette' in this special issue of 'Teangeolas', which is devoted to the timely topic of languages and language policy in Ireland.

The subject of a national language policy has barely been touched upon in Ireland. True, the EC's Lingua programme is mentioned in the media from time to time; strong opinions find expression in the letter columns of the national press, while industrialists and exporters appeal for better knowledge of foreign languages among present and potential employees. In all of this there is little new. What is new is the impetus now being given to these manifestations by the awful or welcome prospect - you may take your choice - of 1992.

Policies for languages have been the subject of debate in other countries, both in Europe and outside of it. One of the most impressive documents to emerge is 'National policy on languages' (Australia, Commonwealth Department of Education, 1987), which explores questions relating to all the languages spoken in Australia: English, aboriginal languages and other languages, both in maintenance and new learning situations. In Ireland too, relevant discussion papers have been issued by the educational authorities on both sides of the border (Curriculum and Examinations Board, 1985 & 1987; Department of Education for Northern Ireland ,1988). To these and other sources of information educational planners must have recourse in seeking to lay the basis for a sound and realistic policy for Ireland.

The trouble is that the language situation in Ireland is not quite like that of any other country. English is, for historical reasons, the language of the majority of the population, which groups us with the USA, Australia and most of Canada, rather than the other member states of the EC. Given that English is now being promoted as never before in EC countries, the question often raised is: why should native speakers of English learn foreign languages, when opportunities for using them are becoming ever rarer?

The advantages conferred by a knowledge of English are generally recognised, not least by those who do not speak it, a fact borne out by the phenomenal growth of the teaching of English as a foreign language (TEFL), now an industry in its own right in the USA, England and elsewhere. What is the situation in Ireland? How best can Irish teachers' role in the TEFL industry be strengthened? Tom Doyle addresses this question.

Ireland differs from most English-speaking countries in that she is bilingual, though, like the curate's egg, only in parts. Irish, the heritage of all Irish people, has been spoken on the island since time immemorial. Its literary traditions predate the introduction of Christianity. How best to secure the future of this unique language which has survived so many vicissitudes and surmounted so many obstacles is the problem exercising Irish minds today in the face of the pervasiveness of English and the perceived need for more foreign languages. H. Ó Murchú contributes the views of an educationalist on this topic.

The debate on foreign languages has already been initiated in a wide-ranging discussion on the status of German in the last issue of this journal (Sagarra, 1989) and, more recently, by Mac Aogáin (1990). It continues here with an account of EC action to promote European languages by R.L. Davis, who also discusses the problems of diversification in foreign language teaching. The case for Russian and a review of its present status and requirements is presented by S. Smyth and P.J. O'Meara. R.M.O. Pritchard provides an overview of the situation and status of Irish and other European languages in the educational system of Northern Ireland.

While the educational system plays a key role in language teaching and learning, economic and social factors also strongly influence the orientation of language policies. P. Ó Riagáin and M. Ó Gliasáin, who are engaged in regular monitoring of the language situation both here and abroad, give readers the benefit of their research and conclusions.

Defining a language policy is not an easy task because of the educational, political, social, economic and geographical factors connected with it. We hope that the specialist contributions in this issue give some indication of what is involved and provide food for thought to educational planners, teachers and other interested parties.

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ENGLISH AS A FOREIGN LANGUAGE - PREPARING FOR 1992

Tom Doyle
Language Centre of Ireland

It is difficult to establish exact figures for EFL in Ireland. One survey suggests that in 1986 approximately 30,000 students visited Ireland to pursue courses of study (Student Organisers' Association of Ireland, 1988). Ir £17 million was spent on tuition. Language tuition and cultural programmes account for the majority of this income.

Excluding carrier receipts, educational tourism generated Ir£50 million in income for the Irish economy. The market is growing annually between 10 and 15%.

The majority of course visitors are teenagers in the 13 - 16 age range. Ireland's success in EFL is based on:

The generally good quality of EFL teaching in Ireland;
The attractions of unique culture, music, literature and history;
The beauty and relative safety of Ireland;
The warm acceptance by Irish people of overseas students.

The principle inhibiting factors have been:

Relatively high access costs;
Restricted availability and promotional funds and resources;
Too great a concentration on one aspect of the market.

Teaching English as a foreign language has, until recently, been wholly the concern of private sector schools.

It is difficult to estimate the total number of such schools, particularly those operating during the summer months alone, as only a small proportion of schools are registered.

In 1989, there were 22 listed year round schools and 31 summer schools. This represents a considerable increase in recognised schools, particularly in schools outside Dublin.

The responsibility for registration and inspection rests with the Advisory Council for English Language Schools. This body is made up of representatives of Bord Fáilte, the Department of Education and the Department of Foreign Affairs.

Schools complete a questionnaire covering teacher qualifications, premises, courses, materials and welfare arrangements. Schools applying for registration are inspected annually by inspectors of the Department of Education. The formula 'recognised by the Department of Education as an English Language School for the teaching of English as a foreign language' is used.

Several of the longer established schools are members of the Student Organisers' Association. Only a small proportion of EFL schools operate from their own teaching facilities, with the majority renting facilities from secondary schools or third level colleges.

Teachers

Teachers of EFL in Ireland have no official status. The majority work on temporary contracts during July and August. However, the National Association of Teachers of English as a Foreign Language, Ireland (NATEFLI) estimates that there are between 130 and 150 teachers employed in recognised year round EFL programmes. The majority of such teachers are university graduates, usually from an arts background. The majority have also taught overseas, in one or more countries. An estimated 30% hold Higher Diplomas in Education or similar qualifications. A further 10% hold Royal Society for Arts Diploma or Certificate qualifications. The most frequently quoted professional qualifications are the many in-house certificates offered by EFL schools in Ireland. Such in-house certificates vary considerably in methodology, content and duration. Many such certificates may have no validity beyond the institute in which they are issued.

There are currently no uniform entry standards to EFL and no uniform system of training. There is no career structure.

The training capacity of Irish institutions offering internationally accepted qualifications is currently very small. From October 1989, University College, Dublin, will offer a college certificate in Teaching English as a Foreign Language. This is a postgraduate course of initial training taken part-time over one academic year. There are up to 12 places.

Since 1980, the Language Centre of Ireland has held courses for the Royal Society of Arts/University of Cambridge Local Examinations Syndicate Diploma in EFL. This is a post experience course run part-time over one academic year. There are 15 places available on this course and, since 1981, just under 100 candidates have taken this examination. In 1987, the same centre commenced courses for the RSA/UCLES certificate in EFL. This 120 hour course for graduates has 15 places.

The majority of trainees taking such courses do so with the intention of teaching overseas. The total number of places on such courses is insufficient to meet the demand for qualified EFL teachers internationally.

The National Association of EFL teachers estimates that, annually, some 1,000 undergo unrecognised courses in EFL at institutions, private or public, throughout Ireland. Few of these courses seek any basic standard of education; few provide any form of teaching practice; and the average duration of such courses is 35 hours or less. Nonetheless, a considerable proportion of such people find employment in private sector EFL schools overseas.

Many Irish graduates find overseas employment in this area without undergoing any formal EFL training whatsoever. However, the career opportunities for those who are under-qualified or unqualified are severely limited. Perhaps as a consequence, the majority of teachers remain in the EFL sector for between 1 and 5 years.

Books and Materials

Ireland is not a producer of EFL books, audio-cassette, video or computer based courses. A small amount of text book materials has been produced for the domestic market. In 1988, an EFL edition of 'Authentik' was launched from its Trinity College base. The bulk of course ware is supplied by British publishers and materials producers. On a European scale, there is an increasing challenge to British publishers by European publishers supplying not only their own domestic market, but also supplying export markets.

The size and diversity of the Irish market appears to militate against the publication of specifically Irish based materials by either domestic or international publishers.

It is estimated that EFL students spend £20 per student on textbooks, dictionaries and other study aids. The international market is estimated at £70,000,000 stg.

EFL Student Examinations

Annually, some 1,000 foreign students sit the UCLES First Certificate of Proficiency examinations at the Dublin Open Centre. Large numbers take Trinity College, London oral examinations, Pitman, RSA CUEFL, LCC or TOEFL. There are no Irish based examinations in this field. The Cambridge Local Examinations Committee, for instance, serves a largely administrative function, having no direct input into examination programmes or policy.

The status of many EFL examinations within Ireland is uncertain. For example, some third level institutions require aspiring would-be overseas students to take Leaving Certificate English. Some require or accept a TOEFL score varying between 500 and 600 points.

Future Demands or Trends

Globally, the demand for English training is increasing. The worldwide market for EFL training is worth £6.25 billion a year (Economist Intelligence Unit). It is predicted that the market will grow by 10% per annum.

In the commercial sector, English for specific purposes is buoyant. Language training now represents for many European companies the largest portion of their general training budget. English is the principal beneficiary of such expenditure. Córas Tráchtála have already carried out studies into the potential of France or Spain in this area.

In the secondary school sector, the numbers studying English are also increasing. Eighty-five percent of French students now take English as their first foreign language, and a further 10% take it as their second.

Demographic change will affect trends in this sector. The EC as a whole will see a 20% drop in under 25s by the mid 1990s, though this will have less impact on the Southern European market - from which Ireland draws most of its students, and where the market has yet to reach its full potential. But, even in Northern Europe, fewer children per family may mean more money per child. This suggests a move towards an increasingly sophisticated demand for high quality EFL courses.

Summary

Ireland has a strong profile in the course visitors market, especially holiday English for children and general English for young adults. Courses are run by commercial private sector schools and there is an absence of regulatory mechanisms.

Ireland is poorly positioned in the international market for EFL teacher training. There is a small corpus of recognised courses and a large body of unrecognised courses. Teacher supply is largely unregulated in the market for EFL examinations and EFL books produced in Ireland have no discernible presence.

1992

Does EFL have a place in Ireland's preparations for 1992?

Much of the change and growth within EFL has come about because of 1992 and the implications for language of the Single European Act.

The Single European Market presents opportunities and challenges which we must meet if we are to benefit from it. December 31st, 1992 is a target and not a starting date. By this date, the provisions of the single European Act must be translated into national law.

It is important that Ireland gives serious and urgent attention to the teaching of foreign languages. Our seriousness in improving foreign language teaching, and learning languages ourselves, will make the teaching of English more acceptable and less culturally threatening to other Europeans.

Moreover, the framework for language action of the EC, including the Lingua Programme, Erasmus and Comett, emphasises collaborative actions. We must be ready to assist other EC states in their English teaching programmes.

Although the full implications of many EC programmes are, as yet, unclear, let us examine how some EC proposals might effect EFL.

Action 1 of Lingua has, as its object, the promotion of in-service training of foreign language teachers and instructors in a member state, the language of which they teach. Clearly, provisions must be made for Ireland to receive European teachers of English. There are currently no teacher training programmes designed to meet the needs of non-native speakers in our universities and training colleges. The provision of such places, the establishment of co-operative links and the formulation of possible programmes require urgent consideration. This is particularly the case for in-service courses for language teachers at primary level, where much of the growth within Europe will occur. But clearly, also, there is a need to address local training needs. Currently, there are no clear

standards of entry to EFL teaching in Ireland. Training is haphazard or non existent. This is clearly an unsatisfactory state of affairs, especially given the increased professionalism and standardisation overseas. The current Irish situation makes it difficult for Irish schools to draw from a pool of effectively trained teachers, difficult for Irish trainees to match internationally perceived standards, and difficult for practising teachers to feel real confidence in their basic training.

The new UCD certificate and the RSA certificate at the Language Centre of Ireland are clearly designed to meet the highest standards in initial training. Nevertheless, a clear definition of basic training needs in EFL is urgently required. Such a definition must address questions such as:

The number of training places required;
The duration of such training (many training courses are too short);
How and where classroom practice is to be obtained;
Whether EFL training should be specialist or whether it should be integrated/combined with more broadly based teacher formation programmes, such as the Higher Diploma in Education.

In the light of 1992, thought will have to be given to the place of the non-native trainee teachers. Should initial training courses train native and non-native side by side? Should courses contain a language support element? The problem is not only one of initial training, there is also a need for in-service courses.

A full range of courses must be considered, ranging from certificate of initial training, through post service diploma courses, advanced specialist courses to master's programmes.

While some thought has been given to initial training, and master's programmes are firmly established, only the RSA Diploma currently meets the in-service needs of EFL teachers. This is a one year course, covering the syllabus of the RSA, and is intended for native speakers with a minimum of 2 year's full time experience in EFL teaching. There are 15 places available annually and, since 1980, some 100 teachers have taken the Diploma examination at the Dublin Centre. The majority of these teachers are now working overseas. While demand for places on this course exceeds the number of places available, enquiry to the Centre would clearly indicate a demand for shorter in-service courses, particularly from Irish teachers of EFL overseas returning to Ireland during the summer months. Advanced specialist certificates in such areas as ESP, EAP (English for Academic Purposes), materials design and CALL are required to equip serving teachers better for their current tasks and to prepare them for the professional demands of a rapidly developing field.

There is also a need for in-service programmes for non-native overseas English teachers and for teachers who are retraining as English language specialists.

Such courses are likely to emerge over the coming years within third level institutions. The interests of Irish EFL would not be served were this to happen in an unplanned and haphazard way. Ireland's pool of EFL teachers, trainers, course writers and advisors is too small for unbridled competition between or within its various sectors.

Section II of the Lingua Programme seeks to promote mobility of students specialising in modern languages and of those who are studying languages in parallel with another subject. Such students will, initially at least, require linguistic support. The provision of pre-sessional courses, the development of EAP or ESP courses, cultural courses and overseas student welfare services clearly needs urgent consideration in this light. Not all Irish third level colleges would claim in-depth experience in such issues. It would, therefore, seem sensible that such projects should be planned on a national basis rather than an institution by institution basis, and it would further seem sensible that such colleges should be able to draw on the expertise of the existing EFL sector.

Section III of the Lingua Programme has obvious implications for the Language Centre of Ireland. It is in this area that the greatest qualitative and quantitative growth will perhaps come for EFL in Ireland.

Learning a language for business or vocational purposes is entirely different from learning it to pass a school examination. Working adults need to learn in smaller groups, they need a different relationship with the teachers and, of course, they need totally different materials from those used for young learners.

Section III (b) of Lingua proposes support for the development of teaching materials adapted to the specific needs of each branch of economic life. Compared to the dearth of materials for adults in other modern languages, English is relatively well served. But, in most cases, specialist courses require specialist materials, although university MA programmes provide expertise in materials of course design. Hitherto, Irish EFL sectors appear to have been unwilling to make the investment required to build banks of materials to support ESP courses.

As well as a shortage of materials, there is also a shortage of trained and experienced teachers. The majority of EFL teachers in Ireland are drawn from Arts backgrounds and few have formal or consistant ESP experience. EFL teachers are now expected to be familiar with more than one pedagogy. They are expected to have a knowledge of computers or management or marketing. Above all, EFL teachers must be familiar with their student business culture. Already, training in the business sector is moving away from ready made courses to a tailor made service where language is but one part of the whole. In the future, language teaching will be integrated with the whole world of business communications.

An International Dimension

While Ireland's EFL interests are primarily in Europe, the effects of the Single Market on EC member states will have consequences which will be felt worldwide.

English is the official or semi-official language in over 70 countries and occupies an important position in 20 more. It is the main language of international business, traffic control, international shipping, science, technology, medicine, pop music and advertising. Seventy percent of the world's mail is written in English and 80% of all information in electronic retrieval systems is stored in English.

English is the main foreign language taught in school systems. Some 68 million pupils in 36 countries are currently studying English. 'English has become a world language, the common property of all cultures. English is divesting itself of political and cultural connotations as it emerges as an international language'. It is essential that Irish EFL services and expertise be presented on a worldwide basis. While Ireland retains its political identity, it is a likely source of EFL services.

The Middle Eastern market has changed considerably in recent years. English now forms part of most school systems in the area. Considerable resources have been devoted to teacher training and the development of school curricula and teaching materials. Middle Eastern institutions are seeking expert support and teaching personnel. The forging of links with such institutions should be urgently reviewed.

Arab industrial concerns are no longer sending employees for out of country training in the same numbers as during the 1970s and early 1980s. Although there is still scope for language/ vocational training, especially within the state sector, falling oil revenues and the gathering momentums of arabisation have brought about a change to in-country training. There are still opportunities in teacher supply, teacher training, course design and materials design. The Middle East is an increasingly knowledgeable and demanding audience.

In the Far East, Japan, South Korea and Taiwan and, to a lesser extent, Indonesia and Malaysia, show high demand. The potential demand for ELT in Japan, where English is vital to career development, is estimated at about 20 million people. The U.S.A. has long served the needs of this area. Europe outside the EC, particularly potential future members such as Turkey or Austria, have also launched drives in EFL.

Communications

Satellite broadcasting, the combined use of electronic mail and electronic publishing, together with other developments in information technology, give opportunities for educational links which are still in their infancy. But, in Britain, the British Council has already begun to develop teacher training materials for *Olympus*, the European Scheme to use satellite television for educational purposes.

In summary, we must recognise that English as a foreign language is set to grow. The next few years are likely to see the strengthening of the existing private sector and the emergence of a strong, even commercially orientated (enterprise culture) public sector.

What can be done to help Irish EFL to operate more effectively?

Firstly, we must place our support firmly behind greater co-operation and quality control. We must establish a broadly based forum. Among the priorities of such a forum would be the exploration of the opportunities presented by such EC schemes as Lingua. It might also follow up calls for greater quality control over the EFL resources on offer, perhaps even proposing more stringent recognition procedures for both private and public sector courses.

Recognition Schemes

The issue of recognition is, in my view, central to the proper development of EFL services in this country. It is an issue which requires urgent attention.

The current recognition scheme is becoming less and less adequate to the task. There are now many more recognised EFL schools and organisations than 20 years ago.

The number of inspectors available for this scheme is too few. The guidelines to schools are limited. The resources and briefing available to the inspectors are inadequate to the tasks. Inspectors do not have a specific background in EFL.

Recognition must be made more rigorous. The inspection must cover management and administration, premises, resources, professional qualifications of teachers and the welfare provision for students. Where public sector colleges offer similar courses, it is essential that they undergo the same inspection.

Such a system is the only way of ensuring to observers abroad that the quality of language services in Ireland are on par with those elsewhere.

A LANGUAGE POLICY FOR IRISH SCHOOLS

Helen Ó Murchú
Comhar na Múinteoirí Gaeilge

This paper looks, in a general way, at the State's overall language policy in education (including some aspects of the current debate) and makes some proposals.

The reasons why people learn languages or - more significantly - are offered languages for learning are many and varied. They range from the exigencies of purely utilitarian short term needs to richly cultural long term aspirations. All - in their different ways - may be a source of individual and societal enrichment. Many, unfortunately, are often presented as being mutually exclusive, although this is not necessarily the case. Some aims, particularly when followed by successful outcomes, may generate others. No argument, however, is generally as clearcut as a purely superficial examination may convey. Most explanations on language learning seem too often embedded in a complex cluster of often almost contradictory factors, usually emanating from several sources, and rarely clearly grounded in some basic easily comprehended principles. Too often they serve only to illuminate the particular personal/societal biases of the moment. This is especially, but not uniquely, the case in Ireland.

The individual's access to languages is constrained by three possibilities: self-instruction, what the market and commercial language schools decide as most lucrative, and what the state system offers. The state's language policy is then of crucial importance, needing *clarity* and *coherence*. Unfortunately, this is not yet the case in Ireland.

Languages and Educational Policy in Ireland

Policy is generally taken to mean 'any broad statement of aims' (Johnson, p.2) or 'general principles and courses of action designed to achieve some educational purpose' (Kellaghan in Mulcahy, p. 193). However, the mere existence of the policy or idea is not sufficient, as Johnson shows. 'It must then be operationally defined. Any necessary resources must be prepared'. On this basis, it would appear that we have no lack of policy *statements* on the languages currently offered, *or not offered*, in our educational system; that some courses of action have been defined; but that we still do not have a *coherent language policy*, encompassing all the linguistic possibilities of our actual and potential situation. I leave aside the vexed question of resources! Language policy, such as it is, is generally taken to refer to the Irish language only, which does little service to either Irish or the other languages in the school system. There are also *parallel* policies on the different languages taught at present. What is lacking is a coherent planning framework with some attempt at least at mutually complementary decision-making processes. This is not due to lack of advice. The Report of the Board of Studies on Languages (August 1987) to the (then) Curriculum and Examinations Board, for example, was a preliminary move in this direction.

A recent publication on Irish educational policy (Mulcahy and O'Sullivan, eds.) offers several reasons for this lack of coherence: piecemeal change, lack of longterm planning, the influence exerted by individuals and pressure groups on government planning. In other words, neither the existence nor the needs of *systems* are admitted by adhocery.

To this must be added the problems of the politician as policy-maker, 'the primary consideration of most governments being to maintain, and if possible, extend their power, influence and *acceptability*' - italics mine - (Johnson, p.3) and what O'Sullivan calls 'the atheoretical character of educational thinking in Ireland' (in Mulcahy and O'Sullivan, p.265) with subsequent over-emphasis on 'issues', often unrelated, and the need for Ministers to find 'a new issue which can be identified with them and provide a direction for their term of office'. No wonder 'slogans', as short and pithy as possible, high-sounding, capable of many satisfying interpretations but deriving from no internally consistent set of principles, are popular as explanations of 'policy'. Our chief policy-makers wish to be unambiguously ambiguous, all things to all men, the stuff of survival. This is not, however, to preclude the use of some snappy formulations of coherent policy principles, a national language policy, - reflecting our vision of ourselves as Irish national and European citizens - designed to grab public attention and stimulate public imagination, not to mention placating our hard-pressed politicians.

The language policy of a country is, of course, most clearly seen in the total linguistic education it offers its populace. This should not, however, occlude the fact that this is not the *only* way the policy is either manifested or developed. '... language policy is formulated and implemented and accomplishes its results within a complex interrelated set of economic, social and political processes which include, inter alia, the operation of other nonlanguage state policies' (Ó Riagáin, International Journal of the Sociology of Language, No. 70). 'National language policies are determined by socio-political pressures which vary from one culture and socio-political system to another' (Johnson, p.3). If 'coherence' is taken to mean the realisation by planners of the *interdependence* of *all* the factors involved in the decision-making process, two facts follow. First, there must be a clearly visible relationship between school language policy and general education policy in combination with state language policy - and overall state policy for the country and its people. A framework of the 'policy planning/determination' advocated by Rodgers (in Johnson) might be a useful place to begin such a consideration particularly by adapting it to local circumstances. Beginning with the syllabus and hoping that overall changes in state policy can thus be developed or inferred is not a course favoured by Rodgers. 'When new educational goals are sought or old goals are felt to have been inadequately realised, specification of a new syllabus has been the typically favoured solution' (p.25). This 'linear model' he rejects for 'more multi-dimensional qualitative, interactive participant extended' approaches. Secondly, since education is but part of the larger state and social systems, Swales (in Johnson) argues for an 'ecological opportunity-cost based' approach, which would take into account the fairly precarious balance in which the various subsets of the

system co-exist. He asks very valid questions about what one can (or cannot) 'afford' to do (or not to do). Are we only planning changes or genuinely attempting radical new policies? Or merely trying to be in pace with the fashion? We must attempt to find out what we don't know, determine whether we are asking the right questions *before* we provide any solutions. There is a world of difference between:

> 'An té nach bhfuil a fhios aige agus go bhfuil a fhios aige nach bhfuil a fhios aige'
> and
> 'An té nach bhfuil a fhios aige agus nach bhfuil a fhios aige nach bhfuil a fhios aige!'
>
> ('He who does not know and knows he does not know' and 'he who does not know and does not know he does not know!)

In summary, what is needed then is a much clearer indication from our policy-makers (with perhaps much clearer guidance from those who counsel them) as to what constitutes the current national language policy of our state; how that is to be manifested across the state apparatus; how it is particularly expressed in and across the education system; how the aims of the policy are variously met by the specific objectives of the different language syllabi it encompasses. Coherent curricula are those 'in which decision outcomes from the various stages of development are mutually consistent and complementary and learning outcomes reflect curricular aims' (Johnson, xiii). Much has been accomplished, particularly in education and particularly in recent years. But the degree of *parallelism* that exists is still excessive, to the detriment of individual and organisational effort. It is not a case of attempting to reconcile the irreconcilable, but of ensuring complementarity instead of competition within our language syllabi. Fire-brigade action should ideally have no place in language policy. The fact that it is necessary is a clear admission of something rather less than perfection in this most important of state enterprises.

Two statements will serve to indicate what are considered to be the general aims of our educational system.

In his introduction to the White Paper on Educational Development of 1980, John Wilson, then Minister for Education, wrote in his Foreword that:

> *An educational system serves a dual purpose - to conserve traditional values and to prepare for the future. It provides for the task of interpreting the essential features of a social and cultural heritage and, at the same time, that of preparing the young for life in a society characterised by ever-accelerating change.*
>
> *To contribute towards the development of all aspects of the individual, including aesthetic, creative, critical, cultural, emotional, intellectual, moral physical, political, social and spiritual development, for personal and family life, for working life, for living in the community and for leisure.*
>
> (In our schools, March 1986)

Both appear to derive largely from the Socratic view of education, enlarging the range and repertoire of each person, in the root sense of 'educare'. Both are in some difficulty with other views current that, as Peter Abbs puts it, are concerned not 'about the interior meanings of education, but *the external uses to which education can be put*' - italics mine - (Sunday Times, November 1987). Languages, and their 'usefulness', relative to one another, are a major part of this argument. The aims of our various language syllabi attempt some accommodation with these differing viewpoints, but not within a clear overall policy statement relating simultaneously to all the languages on the curriculum. Little, if any, attempt is made at elaborating general transferable principles that could benefit both teacher and taught. No attempt is made at situating the languages and their stated aims within the general educational aim. There may well be good reasons for this but difficulty is not one of them.

It has been stated publicly by some closest to the evolution of our current syllabi that 'dirty words' such as 'profit' and 'cost-effectiveness' must be introduced into our educational vocabulary. This is perfectly legitimate - once the parameters for cost-effective analysis have been clearly stated and unequivocally marked out. Otherwise, it is education itself that will become the 'dirty word'. Criteria for the 'usefulness' of different languages, and the life-enhancing possibilities inherent in all of them need rigorous categorisation in relation to the state's language policy, the general aims of education and the objectives of the various syllabi. Such an extension of the concept of 'usefulness' would of itself be a most useful contribution to the 'rational consideration of the language policy in our educational system' which Dr. Edward Walsh called for in 'Comhairle', January 1988.

Irish and English

Looked at objectively, it is clear that our two indigenous languages, Irish and English (in historical order) serve the general educational aims cited rather well, each in their different way, and would have to be considered an indispensable component of state language policy. Questions have been raised, however, about the relative 'value' of the intensity and duration of school exposure to Irish as L2. But when seen against what should be their proper educational context, the argument which some people have made must be regarded as personalised and fragmented. A dispassionate discussion of the question of universal Irish at Senior Level, for example, requires that more fundamental questions first be answered. For example, is a specialist or broadly based Senior Cycle envisaged? Our present Senior Cycle is broadly based. It is a widely held view that such a broadly based system is not only a creditable one, but better than a specialised approach. Obviously, the opposite view is also held. But we are not alone in preferring our kind of system. Scotland, too, has rejected over-specialisation and England - and Wales - are considering certain changes in the same direction.

Anyway, if serious consideration is being given to the educational experience offered by our Senior Cycle, one must begin with the question of whether we continue with our broadly

based approach, revised if necessary, or whether we opt for specialisation. In the absence of such a consideration of the first fundamental question, it seems perverse and tendentious to single out one subject without defining what the debate is really about. The position of individual subjects must surely depend on whether one is talking about a specialist system or a broadly based system.

In this line of argument, assuming that one is going to continue with a broadly based system, it is not unreasonable to review from time to time what the core subjects in that broadly based system ought to be.

In any such discussion one could, of course, argue that the core ought to contain subjects which would provide young people with a knowledge of their own cultural roots and the understandings that would give them the self-confidence to contribute, in due course, to the independent development of their community. It would be further argued that a knowledge of Irish, as the first indigenous language of Ireland, a language of great historical significance and modern creative vibrancy, in which so much of the records of the Irish people for nearly two thousand years are contained, is an essential subject for the building of the kind of ethnic confidence which can make this state viably independent, and without which its longterm continuity as an autonomous polity must be held in doubt.

If, on the other hand, one is talking about a specialist system, we must all take a fundamental look at how the various aims of our educational system continue to be attained.

One way or another, the first and fundamental question to be addressed is not whether an individual subject should be included or not, but what kind of Senior Cycle system is being sought. This question is not being clearly addressed by advocates of the reductionist viewpoint.

Irish as a Requirement for Matriculation

Since some of those at Senior Cycle continue into third level education and since a proportion again of that number will wish to matriculate for entry to the National University, brief reference to the Irish language requirement for that matriculation is necessary. Since some confusion seems to exist in the public mind on this issue, it might be useful to explain that matriculation is an entry requirement which may not necessarily take the form of a specific examination; after all, for years the great majority of entrants to university have been 'matriculated' on the basis of their Leaving Certificate results alone. Recent developments in the National University of Ireland relating to this examination do not alter the basic university entrance requirements in this sense of matriculation. The etymology of the word is 'to be enrolled in the register'.

The reasons for including Irish as a requirement for matriculation are as cogent now as they were in 1913 when National University policy first came into force - that Irish is a necessary part of our self-knowledge and intellectual development as an independent people. The fact that Latin, for example, is no longer required in no way invalidates the current and continuing requirement in relation to Irish. Both subjects offer, among other things, an intellectual training and an understanding of our world, but the external requirements in relation to Irish as a modern living language with special relevance for us as a people, are different from those of Latin which, particularly since the second Vatican Council, has ceased to the lingua franca of even the Catholic Church, its last bastion.

An examination of the relevant statistics would undoubtedly show that it is an entirely unfounded belief that there are many unsuccessful candidates for matriculation who might have qualified had it not been for the Irish requirement - particularly in these days of high competition for University places. University applicants must be competent in a range of subjects and have little difficulty in attaining respectable grades in Irish. In fact, statistics do show a high correlation between high competence in Irish and high overall achievement. Of course, in any year, there may be exceptional cases, but an entire educational system should not be expected to change radically on that account, any more than it should be expected to cater for the changing vagaries of our export market, although bodies external to education are attempting to make such claims.

An education system reflects the aims, aspirations and value system of a state and its people. It transmits the culture of that people. It socialises the young as members of the society of which they are a part. It is involved with the total development of each individual. Any changes, or arguments about specific changes, must be grounded in these bases before they can be taken seriously. It is also the government's right and duty to indicate these bases clearly in the choices it makes with regard to the content of its educational system. As Raymond Williams (The Long Revolution, Penguin 1965) puts it '..the content of education, which is subject to great historical variation, ... expresses, ... both consciously and unconsciously, certain basic elements in the culture, what is thought of as "an education" being in fact a particular selection, a particular set of emphases and omissions'.

Access to the Irish language, on a universal basis, in our educational system serves both to interpret the essential features of our heritage and, by inculcating a sense of cultural self-confidence in our youth, to provide them with the essential tools of coping creatively with a changing world. *Education precedes training for specific needs at specific points in time.*

These particular arguments apart, it is highly unfortunate that the rich educational contribution possible in a system which simultaneously and universally offers two indigenous languages has almost completely gone unmarked by the majority of our educationalists, apart from a few lone voices, and some random and well hidden throw-away statements of possible intent.

European Languages

The genuine concern for more adequate provision for European languages has fared little better. It has even been implied that such provision can only be accomplished by *reducing* the educational choices now available. This is a needlessly

negative approach. The educational facts require flexible responses and more imaginative approaches to our foreign language needs. Any and all languages will contribute to most of the aspects of individual development cited above as a general educational aim. Preparation for future adult working life may, however, be better served by one rather than another, although very valid arguments can be made that in learning any language, *one learns to learn languages*, and that the future is (happily, perhaps) rather a vague concept.

If, however, we are to deal genuinely and responsibly with the communicative needs of possible future job opportunities (from machine floor to managerial and marketing level), within a range of industrial requirements, we need:

i) some analysis at least of potential employment opportunities
ii) a range of short to long term language courses with associated certification;
iii) suitable teaching/learning materials.

Since presumably the communicative needs in the target languages will be similar for all learners, irrespective of mother tongue, *there seems to be a very good case for a combined European venture with inter-country acceptance of proficiency tests.* Whether the appropriate place for such specifically oriented courses is our post-primary level is a matter for discussion. It is a mistaken belief that our current courses are so directed. We are not alone in our concern about foreign languages as part of our school curriculum. Continental Europe is involved in the same debate, although beginning from several different types of education systems. The concern there, however, is largely with raising ability levels in *English*, with which of course we are already familiar. Crystal (1987) offers the following anecdote that illustrates well the happy position we appear to find ourselves in, as speakers of English:

> My company plans big deals with Arabic world. None of us speak Arabic, and they do not know Japanese. All our plans and meetings are in English.
> (Japanese businessman) (In Crystal, p.358)

Interestingly enough, from the same source comes the information that both *Catalan* and *Irish*, considered among Europe's 'lesser used languages', figure on the 'critical list' of 169 extracted from the world's languages by the U.S. Department of Education in 1985. Knowledge of languages on this list, decided the US Government, 'would promote important scientific research or security interests of a national or economic kind' (Crystal, p.342).

Some Practical Suggestions

While a clearly integrated policy, serving general and linguistic educational aims, is necessary, a coherent language policy for Irish schools would be well served also by several other practical steps, some of which have been addressed also by others.

Education takes place primarily through the use of language. Every teacher is then, consciously or unconsciously, a model for and a teacher of language. There are implications here both for teacher-training and for school staff development. Every teacher should be aware of the dynamics of classroom linguistic interaction and, for example, the possible constraining effects of teacher uses of language (in any subject area) on pupils' language (and therefore content knowledge) development. In application in teacher training, this would have both a general and a language-specific (as medium) component. At school level, likewise, it calls for a consideration of a systematic organised school language policy, 'language across the curriculum', involving all school participants. The language of text-books and examinations would constitute another element of such a policy. The most fruitful element, however, might well be a 'language awareness' approach for learners. Insights from both psycholinguistics and sociolinguistics, containing language specific examples from all the languages they encounter both in school and in their environment, would help to enrich and unify the pupils' total language experience in a unique manner as well as offer new perspectives on bilingualism and attitudinal problems.

Both at first or second level with L1, L2 or FL, linguistic skills - whether comprehension, oracy or literacy - fluency or accuracy - are too often approached as if there were no generally applicable principles involved across the range of languages offered for learning by the same pupil. This is both wasteful and unnecessary.

The appointment of either an in-school language adviser, or language advisers covering a number of schools, could be a very useful departure.

At present, some third level institutions and 38 teachers' centres cater for various aspects of teacher development. The European Commission Lingua programme demands national structures for the implementation of its various recommendations. It would seem that a national institution of some kind, co-ordinating all relevant aspects of in-service language training for all languages currently taught, and involving all available expertise, could play a most progressive role.

Subject Teaching through the Target Languages

A proper understanding of the communicative approach to language teaching/learning reveals two basic facts: that it is learner-centred and based on meaningful activity. The most meaningful activity encountered by learners in the school situation is, of course, the actual content presented for teaching/learning. The extension of the languages of the school as media for particular subject areas would be an option well worth investigation at different stages of the school cycle. Pupils would become acquainted with both language and subject simultaneously. Both teachers and pupils could more easily avail of future exchange programmes. School heads wrestling with crowded timetables might well heave a sigh of relief. *There are many teachers competent in both a language and a non-language area. They could be flexibly deployed across several schools to teach, for example, components of the geography course through a medium other than English, the most common medium at present.* After all, many - if not

all - Irish medium teachers are expected to cope without any formal induction.

Flexibility in Time-Tables

A flexible approach to the languages on the school time-table might also yield results, particularly since diversification is urgently needed, and there are only so many hours in the school day. Whether the time-table (or indeed examinations) are to be the servant or the master of the curriculum is a matter for each school. Such is the view expressed by Dorothy Thomas, reporting on her personal approach in her school in Bristol (Vida Hispánica, Spring 1988). *A language block could be subdivided across the language options as desired.*
While teaching (French) in America in the sixties (a time of no small preoccupation with language teaching/learning), students in my school had the option of following the language I taught for 1, 2, 3 or 4 years, at any point in their school career. This was the case for all languages offered as FL in the school. It did mean accommodating different age groups but, on balance, the scheme worked very well.

In the Irish situation, such an arrangement would probably have to mean either *courses towards the public examinations or modules culminating in specific certificates of proficiency,* acceptable to employers and parents.

The dissociation of levels of proficiency and age has several advantages, particularly if accompanied by a differentiated curriculum, and the further option of studying through a language at a certain point, whether L2 or FL. A minimum specified level of competence would be obligatory for say, three languages, the two indigenous languages and one FL. This linguistic competence could then be supplemented in different ways, either by short modules of other languages (Eastern as well as European, being offered perhaps by a central school in any particular area) or to higher levels in the three languages already studied, qualifying one for bilingual posts, university matriculation or civil service.

Since 'obligatory' introduces the much misunderstood and oft-quoted concept of 'compulsion', which in most people's minds seems to relate to Irish only, an obligatory specified core curriculum to the end of post-primary schooling might be a good idea, to include the two indigenous languages and mathematics with further areas to choose from.

Languages in Primary School

Languages at the upper end of primary level are a feature of some Continental European systems. The results vary, depending on several linguistic or external factors. (One must be careful in interpreting the findings of comparative research with regard to linguistic competence across Europe. The first question is whether we are, in fact, talking about school-generated competence only. The second question would be concerned with, for example, comparisons between English competence in French school-children and French competence in Irish school-children). For example, English is more common in the Netherlands than in France. Many Irish-medium primary schools have for years been offering such an option, though generally as extra-curricular subjects. The primary school inspectorate in conjunction with school heads and other bodies would probably be the best judges of which schools are already proving sufficiently innovative to allow the introduction of FL options, since many factors are involved and school results, even if available, are not necessarily the best or only criterion. The real democratisation of language teaching would also ensure that certain areas would not be favoured. Above all, *continuity* between levels is vital. The experience of disarticulation with the curriculum in Irish is sufficient indication of this.

Language is complex. Arrangements allowing access to languages need not necessarily be so. They must, however, derive from a comprehensive and coherent principled national policy; be directed towards integration of experience; and allow for continuity and flexibility.

The 7.44 from Mons to Brussels is indeed flexibility in action (in motion?) as the following excerpt shows. DART take notice!

> *The 7.44 from Mons to Brussels.*
>
> *Belgium has also taken up an idea first tried out on a commuter train from Brighton to London - language learning by train. In May 1984, the last carriage of the 7.44 a.m. Intercity train from Mons to Brussels (a French-speaking area) was reserved for passengers who wished to learn Dutch or English. They paid their normal fare plus a small fee for the tuition, given by teachers trained by the Belgian Centre d' Animation en Langues. The venture has proved to be extremely successful. By the beginning of 1987, there were four 'language trains' in operation, with more routes being considered.*
>
> (Crystal, p.366)

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DON'T DISTURB THE ANCESTORS

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Some years ago the Pepsi Cola Corporation set out to establish a new market in Thailand. With the help of an English-Thai dictionary, their advertising department duly translated the famous slogan 'Come alive! You're in the Pepsi generation', and the publicity campaign was launched on the unsuspecting Thais. It was only then that the embarrassing truth came to light, for the Thai version of the slogan read 'Pepsi brings your ancestors back from the dead'. No doubt the Pepsi management has learnt its lesson, and perhaps there is a moral for us too in this tale, as we move, with the last decade of this century, towards a more united Europe.

At the États Généraux des Langues in Paris earlier this year, Peter Strevens contemplated the future linguistic landscape of the West and predicted that 'Europe in 2189 will be a nation of multilinguals, whose prowess in communication will be the envy of the world'.[1] The noble aspirations of the Treaty of Rome and the economic parameters prescribed by the Single European Act have moved us inexorably closer to commercial unity. It is accepted practice now for major European companies to have multinational representation on their boards and in the ranks of their senior management. So a small élite cadre of multilingual businessmen already exists. However a people's Europe is not just around the corner. The concept of Europe is by no means a common vision shared by all. Jacques Delors' persuasive evocations of European political unity will, no doubt, continue to be met with equally firm apologias for the national sovereignty of individual member states. Intimately linked to the question of sovereignty is that of language. The languages of the European Community, and by that I mean all the languages that are used by her different peoples, and not just the nine 'official' languages, represent the deep rooted sense of uniqueness and separate identity which characterises each of Europe's nations.

The question for those who would build the Europe of 2189 is how do we find unity in our diversity, how do we encourage the growth of a sense of European citizenship that is as much accepted and cherished as our own personal sense of national identity?

European Community Initiatives

It has been generally accepted that measures to promote the learning of other European languages (why do we persist in calling them 'foreign'?) and to encourage the exchange of young people between different member states of the Community are a welcome step in the right direction. Schemes aimed at the higher education sector, such as the Joint Study Programmes, now superceded by ERASMUS and the COMETT Programme, have been enthusiastically supported here in Ireland. Irish institutions have appeared to be particularly well organised to take advantage of the opportunities offered by ERASMUS and this was reflected in the initial Irish participation in ERASMUS Inter-University Cooperation Programmes. No less than 7.3% of all ICP applications and 7.1% of all acceptances in 1987-88 involved Ireland. The level of awareness here of ERASMUS opportunities is very high, but as the scheme now goes into its third year, one has to pause and reflect on the lessons learned. This is especially urgent now, for we are faced with the prospect for 1990-91 of the LINGUA Programme - a series of measures designed to complement ERASMUS specifically in terms of language learning and teaching both within and beyond the university sector. Some of us who have been heavily involved up to now in ERASMUS may be forgiven for wondering whether the investment of time and effort was worth the small awards to participating universities and the minimal student grants received. It is regrettable that the ERASMUS funding should have come at a time when Irish universities were being subjected to a series of financial cuts. ERASMUS awards became de facto a substitute for, rather than a supplement to, state funding for language education at third level. What has made matters worse, however, has been the feeling that, while government was visibly committed to European social initiatives in general, the specific task of elaborating a coherent national language policy, with clearly defined goals and practically achievable objectives, has not been seriously addressed.

The Nature of the Problem

In fairness, this is not a simple task. Before we can begin to talk of solutions, we have to be sure that we fully understand the problem. This problem is itself as complicated as the linguistic diversity of the European Community. It has been formed, or perhaps 'deformed' would be more accurate, by an obsessive influence of cultural stereotyping and an over-reliance on the evidence of past and present circumstances.

An example of cultural stereotyping is the heated debate over the proportion of the education budget devoted to Irish in comparison with that spent on other European languages. It is all too easy, as Michael Cronin, writing on 'The imaginary Gaeilgeoir'[2] has rightly pointed out, to fall into the binary logic trap of perceiving Irish as a reactionary obstacle to the teaching of other languages in our schools. There is, of course, no conflict between Irish and these other languages. This being true, there should equally be no cause for alarm if a government were to decide upon a redistribution of its frugal languages education budget to the advantage of the continental languages.

Past and present circumstances contribute to the near hegemony of French in our second level schools. Again, this is a case where the binary logic has obscured the real issues. A very powerful and effective lobby has been promoting German over the past few years, citing the level of German investment in our economy and the volume of trade between Ireland and Germany. This is indeed good to see, and one welcomes the dramatic increase in interest being expressed by students wishing to take German. But we must beware of seeing this as another either/or question. Europe is not Germany, nor is it France, but a multilingual phenomenon. Of the four continental languages available in our second level system, French is clearly the strongest by far, but German and Spanish are

grossly under represented, while Italian is menaced with extinction. The real questions are how do we achieve language diversification in our schools, and which languages should be on the curriculum.

A great deal of research has to be done before we can be in a position to answer these questions. The nature of this research, which should ideally be undertaken simultaneously in all member states of the Community, was discussed in the closing session of a Conference on Language Diversification organised by the Union Latine earlier this year[3]. Delegates from all member states concluded that three groups should be surveyed in an attempt to gauge public opinion on modern language needs: parents, schoolchildren and students, and employers. The first wave of surveys should be carried out without explanation or background information, in order to reflect public opinion as influenced by the media's image of languages and their importance, and to identify underlying subject impressions. The same subjects would then be circulated with clear, succinct information on the relative importance of languages before being invited once again to respond to the same questionnaire.

Any further language policy that we devise must take account of this sort of research, and must address a wide range of issues related to languages as they are likely to affect Ireland over the next decades (say 50 years). I have only broached the topic here, and am aware of just how complex a task lies ahead of the would-be policy makers.

Undoubtedly it is clear that European and other world languages are now, and will continue to be, intimately linked to our economic future. We must therefore attempt to gear our linguistic strategy so that we are not only capable of making the most of our opportunities, but also able to create opportunities for ourselves.

TEFL

Undoubtedly, it is also clear that English will continue to dominate all other world languages, not in terms of the total percentage of the world's population that uses it as its first or second language, but as the globally accepted lingua franca of economic and political discourse. This has two very obvious consequences. Firstly, it is essential to ensure that the other languages of the EC are valued and used so as to prevent the phenomenon in a future Europe of peoples of lesser used languages being regarded as second class citizens. Therefore, the Irish language must be protected and promoted. Therefore, also, we should be seeking to extend the range of languages in our educational curriculum, rather than agonising over which languages.

The second consequence is that we should regard the global predominance of English as an advantage rather than a threat. In 1988, the teaching of English as a foreign language represented a phenomenal 6% of invisible earnings in the UK economy, and experts consider that the market for TEFL has considerably greater potential. No future language policy should ignore the potential of TEFL. Provision has to be made to consolidate what we already do in this field, and to establish a national examinations board (perhaps along the lines of the London and Paris Chambers of Commerce).

Policy Implications

It would be unwise to formulate a policy without paying due attention to its cost of implementation, and to its potential to generate income. We should of course be aiming to increase the range of languages available, but ought not to forget that education is a long process. All the languages that are taught nationally need not be present on the second level curriculum. Thought should perhaps be given to the training of multilingual teachers capable of teaching say three European languages. A generation of such teachers in the future would give us the flexibility to offer each of the languages on a cyclical (5 year) basis, thus avoiding imbalances such as exist today.

We should not forget that a policy is for the future, and that we must consequently anticipate a Europe that contains economic, social and technological structures and systems different (to some extent at least) from those we know today. To date, for example, the business community has perceived languages as mainly useful for exporting purposes. What used to be exporting into Europe may well become exporting from Europe, with the possible result that we will need European languages for production and managerial tasks, but non-European languages for exporting. Increased worker mobility throughout the Community, allied to the assumption that workers in some sectors (eg. engineering, electronics, computing, banking) may be more mobile than others (eg. tourism, agriculture) would give a demand for shorter, more intensive, LSP programmes, possibly on a continuing education basis. Finally, we must anticipate the eventual arrival of the ultimate 'user friendly' computer, that is the computer which responds to natural language. Already the runes are being cast, and we are called upon to plan our future language policy to take account of machine translation systems, CALL projects, research into speech synthesis, artificial intelligence, computational linguistics. This new language policy can only succeed if it is genuinely forward looking and truly pluridisciplinary.

It could, realistically, take as its long term goal for Ireland the creation of the 'nation of multilinguals' envisaged by Peter Strevens. That goal is achievable. All it needs is that our policy makers and decision takers look to the future, and let the ancestors rest in peace.

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TOWARDS A NATIONAL LANGUAGE POLICY: THE CASE FOR RUSSIAN

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There is an increasingly urgent case to be made for the inclusion of Russian in any projected language policy for Ireland. There is currently a marked upsurge in public interest in things Russian and Soviet, largely as a result of the Gorbachev phenomenon and the consequent opening up of the long mysterious and feared USSR to the outside world.

When teachers of other languages decry the lack of government policy with respect to the teaching of their language, one is either reduced to a sullen silence or to an angered outburst: 'What about Russian?' Ten years ago either of these responses provoked a momentary embarrassed silence, followed by a dismissive: 'Well of course you have a point, but Russian's different after all!'

That response has fortunately changed in the intervening years. Russian is in the public eye. The 'Gorby' factor has led to the doubling, if not trebling, of applicants to the Russian department in TCD, to the setting up of the Trade Management Institute in Blackrock where graduates are trained in Russian language and business skills, to the proliferation of adult education centres offering Russian evening courses. It is certain that the gradual razing of the 'Wall' can only lead to a further explosion of interest in things Russian. Colleagues now express genuine concern about the neglect from which Russian has suffered. Russian is *très à la mode - vive la mode!*

But there are great dangers in this upsurge of interest - or rather in a response to it determined by fashion rather than policy. Indeed, it is arguable that we are worse off now than we were fifteen years ago - the foundation on which teachers of Russian work is now more unstable than it ever was because it is the product of whim. In this article we want to explore the pitfalls in allowing the provision for the teaching of Russian to develop amorphously. It will be argued that the absence of a national policy makes the training of specialists, be they teachers, interpreters, industrialists or diplomats impossible. Eighteen months ago the Department of Labour rang up the Russian department in TCD to find out whether there was anyone in the country qualified to teach the language in the Blackrock Trade Management Institute: the answer was NO. It will also be argued that without a national policy the same will be true in ten years time and again Ireland will have to import the expertise.

First, let us look at what the present situation is: where is/was Russian taught, to what standard, how many people are there in the country who have a working knowledge of the language and are they being exploited to the best advantage of the State? What evidence is there to suggest that the seeds of a national policy do exist, but have never been developed?

The State

The first official initiative was taken by the Irish Army. Niall Brunacardi, an officer in Army Headquarters who assumed responsibility for the organisation of language training in the 40's and 50's, was the first to take seriously the training of Russian specialists. He originally availed of the services and expertise of a Hungarian refugee, and subsequently of Father Kouris, an emigré Russian Orthodox priest living in Collon. The army sanctioned the training of 7-8 of its officers by Fr. Kouris. Four of these then went on to sit the British War Office's Interpreters' Examination and Ireland had its first (and last, to date) generation of professionally trained and qualified interpreters and translators.

In the 50's, the State was first seen to take an interest in the training of Russian specialists when it hand picked three young members of the Diplomatic Corps (Art Boland, Eoin MacWhite and Conor Cruise O'Brien) and despatched them to learn Russian in Collon from Fr. Kouris. Little came of this initiative for a number of reasons which are of no relevance to this article. Since the establishment of diplomatic relations between Ireland and the USSR, the Department of Foreign Affairs have provided their staff with minimal language training by sending them to a language school, extra-mural course or 'buying in' language teachers. Because of the Department's long term planning problems, the length of the courses are barely adequate. That will presumably always be an unavoidable problem. However, the question of designing a syllabus and materials suitable for providing diplomats of various ranks with the language skills they might need has never been addressed and is a direct consequence of there not being a national policy and consequently a body to whom this problem could be referred.

Educational Facilities

Irish school-children are travelling to Moscow and Leningrad in ever larger numbers; 3,500 in 1989. Doubtless some of these will be fired by their trip to study Russian. The question is, where?

In 1949 TCD established a small department of Russian (staffed by one person until 1962 and subsequently by two) which was to remain a part of the General Studies Degree Programme until the first intake of Honors students in 1974 (at which time the staff was increased to three). This is the only Department of Russian in the State. Furthermore, it has not yet reached its full developmental potential as an academic unit in the sense that there is no established chair of Russian. This is not perhaps the place to argue the case for the creation of at least one university chair of Russian in the Republic of Ireland, but its lack is obvious to anyone with an interest in promoting the subject at national level, or representing its interests in the international forum or, for that matter within TCD itself. All those who enter TCD's Russian department do so as ab-initio students - with all the attendant problems. The programme offered by the TCD Russian department is a traditional Arts Letters Degree course which introduces students to the Russian language (modern and historical), literature and history. This

department provides an academic, not vocational, training. In 1983, the Trinity Russian department piloted the first year of what was to become a three year Diploma course. This course was, and is, intended to provide specialists in other fields (business, administration, academics) with a working knowledge of and qualification in Russian. Both of the Trinity courses are externally examined by academics from British Universities.

In 1958, Professor T.S. Wheeler, the Dean of the Science Faculty in UCD, extended the compulsory language component for students studying for a BSc to include Russian. Professor Brian Farrell, who was at that time in charge of the extra-mural department, added Russian to the adult education curriculum offered by UCD. In the 1960's the option of studying Russian was offered to students in the Engineering Faculty. Thus a number of UCD post-graduate students have been sufficiently equipped with Russian for special purposes to be able to refer to Soviet sources in their research. The UCD courses are examined internally. The teaching in UCD has been done by one of the interpreters trained by the Army in the early fifties.

In the early 70's NIHE Limerick made an abortive attempt to incorporate Russian in their European Studies programme. This was unfortunately a short lived experiment.

Since the early seventies there have been a number of individuals who have offered Russian in second level institutions on an ad hoc basis. One can say, without undermining the efforts of those concerned, that none of these has proved fruitful in the long term. The success of such experiments depends on too many variables beyond the control of the language teacher: the good will of a principal, the economic climate which allows a school to employ an ex-quota teacher to teach a non-curriculum subject, access to a GCE exam centre for those students who wish to document their achievements. At a meeting of heads of TCD Modern Language departments with Minister Mary O'Rourke last April, Dr. O'Meara had the opportunity to urge the case for making Russian a Leaving Certificate examination subject. The Minister expressed her support and undertook to pursue the matter further, but nothing more has been heard from her office since then.

Throughout the seventies and eighties the number of adult education centres to offer Russian fluctuated. The general upwards trend suddenly accelerated last October. None of the courses on offer indicate in their advertising for whom they are intended (tourists, people in business...). None, to our knowledge, awards validated qualifications; and none of them aims to provide vocational training.

In 1988 the Trade Management Institute was established, in 1989 the Ballyfermot Community College offered Russian and marketing for the first time.

Interested and motivated teenagers are thus left with the option of committing themselves when the time comes to a full-time degree course in Russian as part of TCD's Two-Subject Moderatorship (or as an option in the European Studies degree course), or to a three-year part-time Diploma course in Russian in TCD, or to one of an increasing number of evening courses which lead to no qualification at all.

The Business World

Aer Rianta, Aer Lingus, Bord na Móna and Parc are all involved in establishing joint ventures with their Soviet counterparts and need interpreters and teachers of Russian. Likewise, interpreters have been required in recent times for Gorbachev's state visit to Ireland, the visit of the Moscow Arts Theatre to the Abbey for the Dublin Theatre Festival, the visit of the delegation of Soviet churchmen organised by the Irish Council of Churches, amongst many others. Ireland has now reached a stage where it needs specialists - trained language specialists with a vocational/professional qualification or skill and specialists in other fields with a working knowledge of Russian. As the outline of the teaching of the language above indicates, we are not producing them and there is at present no framework within which to produce them.

This is not to say that there are not a considerable number of Russian speakers in the country. There are. Indeed, they turn up in the oddest of places. They are either entering into ruthless competition for the few career opportunities there are - or out in the cold, unable to make the first contact, to get their foot on the first rung of the ladder. It is a most unhealthy situation and one which can only get worse as the number of graduates increases and it gets more cut-throat.

What has this got to do with the absence of national policy? and how could it be remedied by formulating a national policy?

There are several consequences of there being no such policy: no-one has done a serious needs analysis. What specialists do we need? What skills do they need? How are we going to train them? Russian native speakers resident in Ireland and Irish graduates of Russian are forced by economic pressures to accept any work that comes their way and because there are no training or in-service training facilities, they remain an unqualified and poorly paid section of the workforce at the mercy of fashion. All 'translators', 'interpreters' and 'teachers' are in competition with one another because they are forced to be Jacks of all trades in order to piece together a livelihood, though only one of them is qualified at all. This means that needs as they arise are coped with by whoever happens to be at hand at a given moment and the service they provide must consequently suffer.

In the area of teaching the language, again no-one has established what learners of Russian see as their needs and how best to answer them. So all evening courses are in competition with one another because all of them answer all and no student needs. One wonders how long many of the newly established centres where Russian is taught will survive when one considers that the teaching force (native speakers and graduates) are untrained, they are often working without adequate language teaching materials; teachers are working without a syllabus and, therefore, without clearly defined aims. They are teaching a wide range of people whose interests and needs differ significantly. This seems to be a recipe for disaster and one which can only damage the status of Russian teaching.

The Answer

The only solution to this situation is the establishment of a body whose responsibility it would be to:

- identify the needs of the State and semi-state bodies
- identify the needs of the private sector
  (This should probably be done on a regional basis and could formally involve the RTC's. The Limerick-Shannon area, for instance, has quite specific needs: the language training of Aer Rianta executives and employees)
- coordinate and advise on the development of curricula, syllabi and language teaching materials
- facilitate Irish/Soviet collaboration on projects in any field
- organise or advise on the initial vocational/professional training of Russian language specialists and coordinate continued in-service training
- assess and validate (when required) the competence of language learners on non-university courses.

The organisation of such a body, or the staffing of an already existent body, to enable them to assume these responsibilities would:

- ensure that the Russian 'boom' develops in such a way as to protect the interests of both consumer and trained specialist
- provide a framework within which specialists in related fields could collaborate instead of feeling threatened by the existence of the other
- raise the status of Russian specialists from the level of dilettantes who ought to be grateful and even flattered if one offers them work to that of professionals of whose competence one is assured.

Some may ask why should Russian, a 'minority' language, require the establishment of a body which does not exist, and presumably won't exist, for any of the established languages? How can such expense be justified?

It could be argued that Russian is significantly different for several reasons.

1. We have had no cultural relations with the Soviet Union. This has meant that in Ireland there is no Russian equivalent to the Goethe Institute, the Service Culturel de l'Ambassade de France etc. These bodies have contributed enormously to developments in curriculum innovation, to the provision of in-service training and to the teaching of languages for special purposes. They also validate extramural courses.
2. There are no Russian specialists in the Department of Education Inspectorate or in the Linguistics Institute of Ireland. There is a representative for Russian on the RIA National Commission for the Teaching of Modern Continental Languages, but none on the National Committee. Who will then advise on, formulate and implement a national policy?
3. The only two homogeneous bodies of Russian specialists are the Russian department TCD and the ISA (Irish Slavists' Association). It may well be their function to advise on a national policy, but it would not be acceptable to those with other interests and concerns if these two bodies were to assume full responsibility for the functions outlined above.

It would not be envisaged that this new body would necessarily be a permanent institution. It should rather be an intermediary body which allows for the negotiation and agreement of a policy and for its development to one equivalent to that of other languages. Nor, indeed, could one argue that Russian is the only language requiring positive discrimination: Arabic and Japanese would be two others which spring immediately to mind.

The European Dimension

Last May Dr. O'Meara represented the ISA (as its chairman) at a hearing at the headquarters of the European Commission in Brussels attended by some 40 European Slavists. The purpose of the hearing was to suggest ground rules for the establishment of a European Foundation for East European and Soviet Studies. Pending EC funding and the European Parliament's final approval, such a foundation is to be set up to act initially as a co-ordinating centre for research into and member states' contacts with Eastern Europe on scientific, commercial and cultural matters. A letter was circulated to those attending the hearing, signed by scholars from Belgium, Ireland, the Netherlands and Sweden, drawing attention to the special needs of the smaller countries where library resources and funding were particularly limited.

The interest evinced in this way by the EC in Soviet and East European studies further strengthens the case for the inclusion of Russian in Irish thinking on language policy. Furthermore, the rapidly changing scene behind what was until recently known as the 'iron curtain', with all its implications for the EC and Western Europe generally, increases the potential for trade and commerce between EC and Comecon countries, and, by extension, between Ireland and the USSR. There can be little doubt that Ireland and Irish business interests will stand in ever greater need of qualified Russian speakers and graduates in Russian studies. We should therefore be planning ahead to ensure that such needs can be properly met.

LANGUAGE POLICY IN NORTHERN IRELAND

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The formulation of language policy is part of the wider activity of 'language planning'. This could be defined as a process of systematic decision-making about language in a societal context, with the aim of finding solutions to specific problems and maximising its usefulness as a resource. Language planning is a complex process said to consist of four stages, of which the first two relate to policy-making: stage one is the assembling of descriptive data as a basis for reaching decisions; stage two is the formulation of plans; stage three is their implementation; stage four is feedback in the light of comparison between the actual and the predicted (or desired) outcome (Jernudd and Das Gupta, 1971).

The stage of fact-finding should be conceived as broadly as possible, not merely in terms of statistical data about bilingualism and language proficiency within a society, but also in terms of the socio-cultural, economic, political and educational matrices within which language behaviour is embedded. The stage of planning involves setting goals, selecting the strategies to achieve them, and predicting the outcomes; goal-setting may entail policy recommendations about which languages should be chosen as official, national languages; it also necessitates a consideration of the role of such languages in various arenas of a country's public life, in which the national education system is of particular importance. The stage of implementation may, in developing nations, involve codifying and standardising languages (cf. Rubin and Shuy's 'policy' approach (1973)); if, however, this basic task has already been accomplished, languages will then be subjected to a process of 'cultivation' (ibid.:21) in which lexis and registers are expanded/enriched, and attention is paid to aesthetic aspects such as style and formal precision. The feedback stage may be peaceful, routine and bureaucratic; alternatively, it may sometimes be forcibly brought about by societal eruptions such as riots and political demonstrations; few issues rouse such passions as languages, especially if pecuniary and other disadvantages accrue to speakers of minority or stigmatised languages (Edwards, 1985:93).

Some authors have chosen to regard language planning as a purely linguistic matter, but Jernudd and Das Gupta (1971:196-7) emphasise that it is the political authorities of a country who give the authorisation for planning, and that the social rationale for a policy must not be subordinated to a predominantly *linguistic* rationale. Any discussion of language policy which seeks to evade important macro-political issues will, perforce, be inadequate. Not alone the social but also the economic aspects of language planning must receive proper attention: Jernudd (1971) and Thorburn (1971) both explore a cost-benefit analysis approach in which they regard language as a resource, and attempt to predict the consequences of alternative ways of handling that resource.

The terms 'language planning' and 'policy' are most often used to refer to *primary* bi- or multilingualism, that is to languages which are first, 'second' or 'other' languages for some citizens in a community which is organically bi- or multilingual. The fact that such terms do not customarily refer to 'foreign' languages in a school curriculum renders it necessary to re-define their scope for the purposes of the present paper. Both terms will be taken to refer to *secondary* bilingualism acquired through study in the formal education system.

In order to formulate a 'proto language policy' for Northern Irish (NI) schools, it will be necessary to assess the implications of current national and international trends; these will be examined against the perspective of existing structures in the NI educational system, and with reference to the foreign language needs of industry. Although Irish is usually taught by the same pedagogical means as are used to teach modern continental 'foreign' languages, it is historically part of the linguistic heritage of Ulster and is therefore emotionally and politically in a different category from the other languages taught in the school curriculum. A special section will, therefore, be devoted to the position of the Irish language north of the border. Finally, the issue of English as a second/foreign language will be addressed.

The Educational Background to Language Issues in Northern Ireland

Unlike most of the rest of the United Kingdom, Northern Ireland does not have a system of comprehensive education; it has retained its grammar and secondary intermediate schools, to which pupils are assigned at age eleven by a competitive examination (called the transfer test or the 11-plus). There has been much criticism of this selection procedure over the years. All such procedures involve some degree of statistical unreliability, and the question which must always be faced is not whether they are accurate, but how much inaccuracy one is willing to tolerate. Sutherland (1988) of the Northern Ireland Council for Educational Research states that the overall level of 'mis-identification' in the allocation of transfer grades is one in six. This impression of mis-identification is confirmed by Gallagher (1988) who points out that for just under one sixth of pupils, there is an apparent mismatch between the transfer grade and their 16-plus performance. Bunting, Saris and McCormack (1987) have conducted an empirical investigation into the reliability and validity of the 11-plus, and conclude that if the results of their study were to be generalised, a large number of children would have been incorrectly classified by the test papers.

The injustice of the selective system extends to gender, class, religion and region. To take the gender aspect first: since girls tend to out-perform boys in NI schools, the two genders were until 1988 treated as two separate populations in the transfer test, thus ensuring that boys and girls were represented in equal percentages at the grammar schools. The practice was, however, unjust to the higher-achieving girls and has now had to be terminated as a result of a case being taken to the courts by the Equal Opportunities Commission. As regards social class, the transfer test discriminates against children from the working

class, even at the same grade level (Sutherland and Gallagher, 1987). In terms of religious denomination, there is a more generous provision of grammar school places in the Protestant sector, in which 31% of the pupils were accommodated, as compared with 26% in the Catholic sector (Sutherland, 1988). Regionally, the examination is also known to discriminate against non-urban children (Wilson, 1986).

Although there is widespread unease about the selective nature of education in Northern Ireland, until the recent reform legislation a safety valve existed which resulted in criticism being contained or muted. Voluntary grammar schools were only obliged to fill 80% of their places with qualified pupils, and could fill the remaining 20% of their places with paying pupils, who had not passed the transfer test. Boarders were not included in the quotas of qualified pupils which grammar schools normally accepted, and middle class parents whose children failed the transfer test could, at a price, ensure that they attended the school of the parents' choice as boarders. Although this system could result in absurdities such as children boarding when the parents lived very close to the school, the availability of such alternative routes to grammar schools placated middle class parents who in other societies would either be among the most articulate and effective campaigners for comprehensive education, or else would send their offspring to independent schools. In Northern Ireland, the fact that such parents had a means of avoiding the unpleasant consequences of their children's 'failure' to pass the transfer test reduced the groundswell of support for comprehensivation.

The selective system has been firmly ensconced for a long time, and there are strong barriers to change. Such is the background against which curriculum development has to be viewed in Northern Ireland.

Language Needs of Schools and Industry

In recent years Northern Ireland, like the rest of the United Kingdom of which it is politically a part, has been subject to major educational changes. The most important innovations which now confront teachers are the phasing in of the local version of the Educational Reform Act and the introduction in 1987/88 of the General Certificate of Secondary Education (GCSE) examination.

The GCSE is intended to replace both the General Certificate of Education (GCE) and the less prestigious Certificate of Secondary Education (CSE). The new examination is intended for all (or almost all) pupils; provision is made for differences in aptitude and ability by allowing pupils to choose the language skills in which they wish to specialise, and the level (either Basic or Higher) at which they wish to be examined. The language syllabus for the present Northern Ireland Schools Examinations Council GCSE (NISEC, 1987) is based on the communicative competence movement arising out of the pioneering work of the Council of Europe; course content is specified not merely in terms of grammatical structures to be learned, but in terms of functions such as 'greeting', 'expressing thanks/ approval/ disapproval' etc., and notions such as state, space, time, measurement and evaluation. Although many subjects include an element of teacher-assessed coursework, this is not true of modern languages. Instead, there is an oral examination which is conducted by teachers (specially trained for the job), and monitored overall by an external moderator. The GCSE is predicated on a system of comprehensive education such as exists across the water; the examination is pupil-centred, and the process of assessment is intended to be a positive one emphasising what a child 'knows, understands and can do'. Its ethos is democratic in that an attempt is made to allow people to display their strengths rather than their weaknesses. There is an obvious mismatch between this ethos and the selective NI educational system which stratifies its schools and values competition rather than co-operation. The introduction of GCSE into Northern Ireland is one of a number of national changes which will inevitably affect language teaching.

A further source of far-reaching change in the United Kingdom education system is provided by the Educational Reform Act (ERA) of 1988, which in chapter 1 sets out procedures for establishing a National Curriculum in England and Wales. It attempts to introduce breadth and balance into pupils' education, and will be associated with a nationwide system of testing at ages 7, 11, 14 and 16 for most pupils, except those with special needs. These tests will be marked on the basis of national attainment targets, the aggregated results of which will be published at all assessment stages except the first (age 7 in England and Wales) 'so that the public can make informed judgements about attainment in a school or LEA' (DES, 1989: para 6.4).

Scotland and Northern Ireland are both to have their special equivalents of the Reform Act, so as to take account of local circumstances. In NI, this is the Education Reform (Northern Ireland) Order 1989, a consultation paper which, after only minor changes, has now become law. Since the text of the final Order was not available at the time of writing, references in the present article are to the Draft Order. It lists the following compulsory areas of study: English, Mathematics, Science and Technology, the Environment and Society, Creative and Expressive Studies, and Language Studies. Study of a foreign language is to become compulsory for all pupils at post-primary stage, and the subject will be formally assessed. Grant-aided NI schools must also promote the following cross-curricular themes, namely: Education for Mutual Understanding, Cultural Heritage, Information Technology, Health Education, and in key stages 3-4 (age 11-16) Economic Awareness, and Careers Education. (Similar but not identical themes form part of the curriculum for England and Wales (cf.DES, 1989: article 3.8).) In NI, Irish as a medium is expected to be a major contributory subject to the first two cross-curricular themes, but rather surprisingly, 'language studies' in general are not expected to make a contribution to any of the themes except Careers Education (NICC 'Update', November, 1989).

The NI Draft Order contains certain other provisions which, although they do not explicitly relate to languages, nonetheless have implications for language policy in Northern Ireland. The most important of these is the arrangement for parental choice of schools. Under the new Order, all parents have the right to express a preference as to where they wish their child

to be educated (NI Draft Order, 1989: Article 36). Parental preference can, however, be overridden if the preferred school is a grammar school, and compliance with such preference could be detrimental to the child's educational interests (ibid.: (4b)). This means that if a child's attainment at age 11 were of such a low standard as to lead a grammar school to the view that s/he would not perform satisfactorily there, then that school could refuse to accept him/ her. The schools' numbers are fixed by the Department of Education (Northern Ireland) (DENI) (ibid.: Article. 40 (1)), and in determining admissions quotas, DENI may have regard to demand for entry to a particular school (ibid.: Article 41 (4b)).

The overall effect of the new legislation is to make the schools compete for pupils. If the demand for entry to a particular school is small, this may result in a reduction of its admissions quota allocation from the DENI, with corresponding effects on the school's medium/ long-term viability. The grammar schools are much better placed than the secondary intermediate schools to dominate the field in a competitive market. Their admissions policies could go in either of two directions. In order to achieve good academic results which will enhance their market value and recruiting power, some of them may confine their intake to the academically most able, leaving the secondary schools to mop up what remains (which is broadly what happens at present). Teachers in the less academic schools would then be faced with a stagnant situation in which their possibilities of promotion would decline and their most able pupils be lost to them.

Alternatively, the grammar schools could simultaneously seek security and try to serve the market by admitting large pupil numbers; the only limitations on them doing so are DENI's overall control, and their own ability to function efficiently under the weight of such numbers. Since they are the most prestigious schools in the North, this seems a likely scenario. The operation of parental choice will probably ensure the continuing buoyancy of recruitment to grammar schools, making it difficult for them to resist consumer demand by reining in their numbers to favour quality of intake rather than quantity. However, regardless of whether the grammar schools come out in favour of expansionism or restriction, the new developments will lead to problems in the system as a whole so far as language-teaching is concerned.

The implications of the NI Draft Order for language teaching must be viewed against the background of existing provision. At present, only about a third of the 15 year-old population enter for a certificate examination in French, Northern Ireland's dominant foreign language (see Table One below). Most grammar schools have hitherto insisted that their pupils should take at least one language to age sixteen. Secondary schools do indeed teach languages, but are much more likely than grammar schools to allow their pupils to give up studying them, in favour of more apparently 'useful' subjects such as technical drawing and home economics. Sutherland and Gallagher (1987) in a study of those pupils who performed at marginal level in the transfer test found that in post-primary school, the grammar school pupils spent longer on languages other than English, and the secondary pupils, especially the boys, spent more time on technology. In first form, all grammar school pupils were studying a second 'other' language as compared with only half the secondary pupils. In fourth and fifth forms, all but one of the sixteen grammar schools in the sample offered at least three 'other' languages, but half the secondary schools offered only French, which might sometimes be available at the expense of a social science. In fifth form, fewer than one third of the secondary pupils but more than four-fifths of those in grammar schools were studying a language other than English (Sutherland, 1988).

Now, however, the Common Curriculum insists that all pupils in post-primary schools (except those with special educational needs) should do a foreign language. If its demands are to be met, there will have to be a massive expansion in numbers of pupils obliged to take a foreign language in all post-primary schools, but most particularly in secondary schools. This creates an inescapable pressure to increase the number of language teachers in the province. Teachers must have the requisite academic expertise and training to be able to educate their pupils effectively. If more languages graduates are to be channelled back into the school system, then it will inevitably be necessary to increase the quotas for modern language teachers in the Postgraduate Certificate in Education (PGCE) offered by the institutions of higher education in Northern Ireland. Since such courses are generally over-subscribed at the moment, it should not be too difficult to recruit an increased number of suitable students to the teacher training courses; once the province's own needs are met, it might even be in a position to expand PGCE quota numbers to the point where it could 'export' some of its young trained teachers to Great Britain to help alleviate the teacher shortages there. Certainly, unless the overall number of teachers is increased, it will not be possible to accomplish the satisfactory 'delivery' of languages within the National Curriculum in the NI school system.

The planned expansion in numbers of pupils taking languages is bound to give rise to tensions among teachers and motivational problems among learners.This will happen no matter what way the logistics of parental choice operate. If the grammar schools pursue expansionism, and this results in them recruiting relatively large numbers of unqualified pupils, they are likely to find themselves with a wider spectrum of pupil ability than they have been used to; in terms of their teachers' repertoire of pedagogical techniques they will find themselves ill-equipped to deal with less able or less motivated pupils.

In a similar vein, the demand that all pupils be offered a foreign language will cause problems for the secondary schools (even on the assumption of no change in existing pupil numbers). Since many children have come to the secondary schools by default as it were, they are likely to be difficult to motivate, especially in a language subject; since they already speak a world language of very wide usage, many of them will see no immediate use for a second one. The Ulster Teachers' Union in its response to the reform proposals (UTU, 1989) emphatically states its view that a foreign language should not be an obligatory area of study for all pupils from 11-16; it rejects this requirement for pupils of low ability on the grounds that such an imposition demonstrates the Government's failure to prioritise the educational needs of such pupils.

The policy of the DES is to increase the range of languages taken by secondary school pupils (DES, 1989). The Lingua programme of the European Community likewise attaches great importance to encouraging competence in the lesser used and least taught languages of its member states. Yet Table One indicates that French is by far the most commonly taught language in NI; in 1987/88 it was taken at 'O' level by 32.7% of the 15 year-old population (the highest percentage since 1978/79). The numbers of pupils taking languages other than French are very small indeed, so if Northern Ireland is to keep up with national and international policy, much needs to be done to diversify the languages offered in its schools.

Table One

Percentage of the 15 year old school population entering for G.C.E examinations at 'O' and 'A' levels in certain languages

Language	1982/83		1983/84		1984/85		1985/86		1986/87		1987/88[1]	
	'O'	'A'	'O'	'A'	'O'	'A'	'O'	'A'	'O'	'A'	'O'	'A'
Irish	5.8	1.1	5.6	1.1	5.0	1.1	4.8	1.0	4.4	1.0	5.7	1.0
French	30.7	4.7	28.3	4.5	28.4	4.6	26.4	4.5	27.0	4.4	32.7	4.3
German	3.8	0.9	3.4	0.9	3.1	0.9	2.8	0.8	3.0	0.7	3.2	0.8
Italian	0.6	0.1	0.6	0.1	0.5	0.1	0.7	0.1	0.6	0.1	0.5	0.1
Russian	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Spanish	3.6	0.9	3.6	0.9	3.5	0.9	3.2	1.1	3.4	1.1	3.5	1.0

Source: Department of Education (Northern Ireland), Statistics Branch.

[1] 1987/88 excludes other than Northern Ireland examination results, as they are not available yet.

This need is further highlighted by available evidence about the industrial and commercial needs of the province. Chambers (1988/89) carried out an empirical survey (response rate 89%) in which she circularised 111 Northern Ireland companies known to be exporting to non English-speaking countries. She found that 44% of the exporting companies (in particular small firms) have no knowledge whatsoever of the languages spoken in the countries to which they export goods. The majority of the textile and engineering companies in her sample have employees with some knowledge of a relevant foreign language, whereas the majority of food, drink and clothing companies have no such skills. Yet almost all these exporters, most especially those selling textiles, are aware of the importance of foreign language skills for exporters. The companies export to countries in Europe, the Middle and Far East, and Latin America. Those most frequently named as export destinations are Germany (69 citations) and France (70 citations). Scandinavian countries and the Netherlands do not constitute a linguistic problem, as their citizens generally have excellent English which makes it easy to do business with them. The major European languages in which a need for tuition is felt are German, French, Spanish and Italian. Chambers (ibid.:9) concludes: 'The traditional dominance of French over European languages has left exporters to Germany, Spain and other countries without adequately trained export staff'.

This study of Northern Ireland's commercial needs for foreign languages underlines still further the importance of diversifying the provision of languages in NI schools. It also has implications for third-level education; it will mean the development of more ab initio language classes at the universities, and may also involve sending young people across the water to study some of the lesser-used languages offered at certain institutions there. The framework of the Lingua programme may offer an opportunity for practising foreign language teachers to supplement their existing linguistic expertise by undertaking in-service training courses in lesser-used languages.

The Position of Irish

It will be evident from Table One that it is not German but Irish which is the second language after French in Northern Ireland. Attainment in Irish is high when compared to other subjects, both linguistic and non-linguistic. In 1987, it was the students of Irish who achieved the best average for any subject in CSE (NISEC Report, 1987). Their mean score on a five-point scale in 1987 was 2.10 (with 1 as the highest and 5 as the lowest mark), whereas the mean for all subjects was 2.92. It is true that the number of pupils taking CSE Irish was small - 159 as compared with 1,563 taking French, but the trend towards high achievement in Irish is clear, and is confirmed by other figures. Table Two indicates that at GCE 'O' level, the percentage of pupils attaining an A, B or C in Irish is consistently superior to that in other languages.

Table Two

Northern Ireland GCE Examination Board
'O' level 1982-1987
Percentages of pupils obtaining Grades A, B and C
(Rank order of languages in brackets)

	Irish	French	German	Spanish
1982	81.6 (1)	64.4 (4)	74.1 (3)	76.1 (2)
1983	80.0 (1)	63.8 (4)	76.2 (3)	76.5 (2)
1984	81.1 (1)	64.0 (4)	77.0 (2)	74.3 (3)
1985	81.1 (1)	63.9 (4)	75.7 (3)	76.2 (2)
1986	80.2 (1)	68.6 (4)	79.2 (2)	74.6 (3)
1987	80.6 (1)	67.9 (4)	80.6 (1)	75.5 (3)

Source: Sixteenth Report of the Northern Ireland Schools Examinations Council. Belfast, HMSO, 1987.
For 1982 cohort, information was provided by Department of Education (Northern Ireland).

Even more remarkable, at 'A' level boys perform better in Irish than girls. Table Three shows a comparison between the percentages of males and the corresponding percentages of females obtaining an A, B or C in various languages at GCE 'A' level; the cumulative percentages of the males' mean scores for each year were subtracted from those of the females, and the averages of the differences over the 1982-87 period were then calculated; the 'plus' sign indicates higher scores by girls, and it can be seen that whereas they out-perform boys in French, German and Spanish, the opposite is true for Irish.

Table Three

Male/female differences in achievement in
'A' level languages
(+ indicates a female superiority)

Language	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	Mean
Irish	- 5.2	+ 1.9	-12.3	-20.2	+4.9	N.A.	-6.2M
French	+ 6.5	+ 6.7	- 2.5	+2.2	+1.9	+5.3	+3.4F
German	+ 4.9	+6.1	+1.0	-5.2	N.A.	+6.0	+2.6F
Spanish	+ 9.8	+22.2	+13.5	+0.6	+7.7	+6.5	+10.1F

This finding runs contrary to most of the national and international sociolinguistic research which consistently indicates that in European and Anglo-American culture, languages are perceived as 'girls' subjects' in which the achievement of females is normally superior to that of males (Burstall, 1974; Dale, 1974; Lewis and Massad, 1975; Pritchard, 1987; Smith, 1970).

The causative factors underlying these good performances in Irish are undoubtedly complex. It could be that people do not choose to study it unless they are already interested and enthusiastic, or it could be that Irish is marked less severely than other subjects (there is, however, no reason to suppose this to be true). An important and little known fact is that quite large numbers of pupils from the Republic of Ireland take 'O' level Irish. Figures for the years 1985-89 are as follows (1):

1985	285	GCE 'O' level
1986	278	
1987	213	
1988	230	GCSE
1989	195	

Source: Northern Ireland Schools Examinations Council (personal communication)

The proportion of Southern candidates obtaining top 'O' level grades is very high, and this must be taken into consideration in interpreting the overall trends. It does not, however, account for the good 'A' level Irish results, nor for the fact that boys do especially well in the language. Clearly there are factors at work here which at the very least merit further investigation.

Interest in the Irish language has steadily been growing in the Nationalist community from the 1960s onwards. It was given a considerable impetus by the republican prisoners' campaign, stimulated by the ending of political status in 1976 as a result of which access to Irish language and cultural pursuits was withdrawn (2). The prisoners in Long Kesh applied themselves more than ever to the study of Irish and Cnamh (1985) estimates that of the 500-plus republican prisoners about half spoke Irish fluently, and the rest reasonably well. The rise of interest in Irish was further intensified by the hunger strikes, to such an extent that the republican parts of the prison became known with grim humour as the 'Jailteacht' (3).

Many people in the Nationalist community would object strongly to the Irish language being 'claimed' by militant republican factions, but the link between nationalism and the Irish language has no doubt helped to imbue it with an ethos which is motivational to many young Catholic boys in Northern Ireland, and puts it in a more attractive category than that of modern continental languages. This may well constitute at least a partial explanation for the high level of achievement in Irish in Northern schools.

The renaissance of interest in the Irish language has helped to secure for it a more prominent place in the curriculum than it would have attained without the lobbying of the DENI that took place when an early consultative draft of the Northern Ireland educational reform proposals was published: 'Education reform in Northern Ireland - the way forward' (DENI, 1988). In paras. 2.14 to 2.16, the Government stated that all pupils would be required to take one of the major European languages - French, Spanish or German - up to the age of 16; Irish could be studied as an additional option, a position which it was (incorrectly) stated was analogous to that of Welsh. Many interest groups found this proposal unsatisfactory and mounted a campaign to obtain for Irish a more important place in the curriculum.

The advocates of Irish invoked earlier surveys of interest in the language. One such study pre-dating the Education Reform Act was carried out in West Belfast by a researcher from the University of Ulster in association with Glór na nGael (1984/85). This short report, based on 223 respondents, found that more men than women were learning Irish (60% males versus 40% females). The overwhelming majority of those surveyed (91%) felt that schools were not doing enough to help people learn Irish. The most popular reason for studying the language was 'to strengthen my Irish identity'(86% of the sample); when asked to say what encouraged them to learn Irish, nearly 75% cited an Irish medium school in the district, while the next most popular answer (61%) was the H-Block protests. A second survey of interest in Irish was carried out under the auspices of Craobh Cholm Cille (the local branch of Conradh na Gaeilge), which in 1986 arranged for scheduled interviews to be conducted in the city centre of Derry to investigate local people's attitude to the language. The sample consisted of 400 subjects. There was solid support for Irish being more widely used (63% of respondents); 82.25% said that they would like to be able to speak Irish themselves, and 80.5% wanted their children to be able to speak it.

In 1987, the Government itself commissioned a survey of knowledge, interest and ability in the Irish language in Northern Ireland (Sweeney, 1988), in which the conclusion was reached that Irish is known, is of interest and is considered important by a substantial proportion of the Catholic community (most particularly its younger members), and that it is more likely to be used in the home by both adults and children than French, German or Spanish. As a further contribution to the debate, the Education Committee of Comhaltas Uladh (May 1988) published a document in which it underlined the historical and literary importance of Irish, and emphasised its role as the common cultural heritage of both Protestants and Catholics. Attention was drawn to Irish influence on place-

names and surnames in the North - 'even' those of Protestants like Mawhinney, McClure, McClelland, Callaghan etc. (Putting 'Mawhinney' first in the list was a little gibe at the Minister of Education of the time whose name it was!). Micheál Ó Máirtín (1988), under the auspices of Comhaltas Uladh, produced a critique of the consultative paper, 'The way forward', in which he demanded that Irish should have parity with French, German and Spanish in the secondary school, and that it should be accorded support services and affirmative action similar to those given Welsh. The Social Democratic and Labour Party invoked the terms of the Anglo-Irish Agreement in its representations to the Government in favour of Irish, and published a special policy paper (SDLP, 1988). Some teachers' associations also joined the pro-Irish campaign, fearing that jobs would be put in jeopardy if the Irish language were to be marginalised in the reformed curriculum.

Finally, the intensive lobbying bore fruit. A more favourable place was obtained for Irish in the Northern Ireland Curriculum. As we have seen, the original proposal was that Irish would have to be taken *in addition* to a modern continental language (DENI, 1988: para.2.16). Now the situation is that Irish can be taken *instead* of a modern continental language; (note that all schools must make available either French, German, Spanish or Italian); if, however, parents wish their children to take both Irish and a continental language, then additional space must be found in the timetable. At secondary level (ages 11-16), every pupil must have the right to study either French, German, Irish, Italian or Spanish (NI Draft Order, 1989: Schedules 1 and 2).

Some advocates of Irish have demanded for it the same curricular status as enjoyed by Welsh, but this ignores the fact that, by an accident of history, Welsh has been linguistically more 'fortunate' than Irish. An important factor here is that, in language planning terms, it was standardised and its orthography was stabilised earlier than that of Irish (4). In the British National Curriculum, Welsh constitutes a foundation subject which must be studied in addition to a continental language, unless a school specifically chooses to opt out of such curricular provision. In Northern Ireland, however, pupils are not obliged as they are in Wales to take English, a modern continental language and a Celtic language. The fact that the position of Irish is less advantageous than that of Welsh is, of course, due not only to linguistic but also to political factors. Irish is currently rejected by most Unionists, and it would simply be unrealistic to insist that it should be a compulsory language for Unionists and Nationalists right across the province.

Northern Ireland is notorious as a community deeply divided on political, religious and cultural grounds. At present, the Irish language is regarded by the overwhelming majority of Protestants as the exclusive preserve of the Nationalist community but, historically-speaking, this has not always been the case (cf. Cooke, 1988; Maguire, R, 1982; Maguire, G, 1986). Lyons (1979) points out that the old Gaelic civilisation found its last stronghold in Ulster, and Ó Snodaigh (1977:6-7) draws attention to the large Gaelic-speaking element among the Scottish Presbyterians who came to Ulster in the seventeenth century. At that time, most of the Ulster population was Irish-speaking; although in the late eighteenth century, education policies unsympathetic to Irish were beginning to erode its vitality, a number of societies such as the Belfast Harp Society and the Belfast Reading Society were set up to revive and perpetuate the ancient music and poetry of Ireland. For the first 30 years of the nineteenth century, Irish was still the home language in some parts of Ulster (ibid.:14). Many Nonconformists had an affection for it, and in 1833 the Presbyterian General Assembly issued for its teachers an introduction to Irish, 'our sweet and memorable mother tongue' (ibid.:16). Until the middle of the nineteenth century, it was quite acceptable for a middle class Protestant to be a member of the Harp Society or the Ulster Gaelic Society. After about 1860, however, Irish began to become more and more associated in the public mind with Catholicism, and when the Free State was established, that association intensified. Gaelicism and Catholicism were used to help raise Nationalist consciousness in the fledgling state, and this of course had the effect of alienating Northern Protestants. The emphasis upon compulsory Irish '... conveyed to the northern Protestant mind an overpowering impression of Catholicism, Gaelicism, and authoritarianism triumphant and triumphalist' (Lyons, 1979:174).

We have already seen how the Irish language has been 'claimed' as a political weapon by certain republican groups; this has contributed to increase the hostility of the Protestant community towards a language which many of its forbears once spoke and held in high esteem. It is therefore important to note that, in contrast with those who promote the use of Irish as a propaganda weapon, there are those in the North who support the revival of Irish on cultural rather than political grounds. One body which attempts to promote Irish as the cultural heritage of all sections of the Northern community is Glór na nGael. The title of the organisation meaning 'The Voice of the Irish' comes from St. Patrick's Confessions. St. Patrick is a saint acceptable to both the major religious persuasions on both sides of the Border and, in keeping with the non-divisive connotations of its name, the Belfast branch of the organisation (founded in 1982) has resolutely pursued a policy of linguistic ecumenism. In June 1989, an Irish language seminar was held jointly by Glór na nGael and the Ulster People's College; the success of this venture owed much to representation from the Protestant community. In the report of the proceedings, Doran (UPC, 1989) emphasises that historically it was often Protestants who led the way in the preservation and cultivation of Irish, and tries to nail the myth that Irish is the property only of the Nationalist and Catholic community. Scott (ibid.) regrets the use of Irish as a kind of heraldic symbol by Southern governments, even when they themselves have come to reject it. This, he believes, is mere exploitation of Irish as it does not necessitate the actual use of the language at all, but is rather a means of legitimising a political culture. He stresses how important it is not to expect Protestant speakers of the language to hold the same values as Catholic Nationalists.

In the light of the different political attitudes in the North so vividly illustrated by the polarisation of attitudes to the Irish language, it is not surprising that there are serious difficulties about the design and teaching of certain cross-curricular themes. Waller (1932?:34) has called the school a 'museum of virtue'; by this, he means that the school is expected to inculcate in

children moral standards and social values which the larger society has been unsuccessful in upholding in the adult community. In the context of the Common Curriculum, schools are expected to contribute to the resolution of strife between different political factions. Indeed, it has been pointed out above that the study of Irish as a medium is supposed to make a major contribution to the themes of Education for Mutual Understanding (EMU) and Cultural Heritage. The fact that these themes must be sustained in all schools, not only Irish-medium ones, is a source of difficulty to many teachers. They believe that it is unrealistic to expect the schools to heal rifts which are the outcome of centuries of history; such is the intransigeance of some parents that teachers have been physically threatened for attempting to teach tolerance and understanding for the 'other point of view'. The Ulster Teachers' Union has expressed grave disquiet about the afore-mentioned cross-curricular themes, and many parents are said to be openly hostile to the concept of EMU (TES, 1989).

It is a truism in pedagogical theory that an educator ought to use a child's immediate environment and life-experience as a basis for the elaboration of further knowledge, but the endorsement of unionist integrationism by the Protestant community in Northern Ireland is such that it has usually preferred its young people to learn about the history and geography of England rather than of its own locality. This attitude vitiated attempts in the 1950s to set up a Schools Broadcasting Council (SBC) for the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) in Northern Ireland. It was felt that '...it would be a mistake to regard Northern Ireland as in any way different from England' and that '...productions from Great Britain were all that the pupils in Northern Ireland's schools needed' (Cathcart, 1984:175). Despite earlier opposition, however, an SBC was set up in 1978 with a commitment to support the teaching of Irish. In 1983, an Irish language producer was appointed by the BBC to organise and help execute a three-year cycle of 'Irish Studies' programmes for schools. Cathcart (ibid.:253-4) points out the irony of the fact that the Republic of Ireland's Department of Education had by then abandoned all financial support for school broadcasting including Irish language programmes.

The barriers to the de-politicisation of the Irish language in the North are enormous and deeply entrenched, but things are slowly changing - partly as a result of supra-national initiatives. Support for minority languages is very much part of the spirit of the age, and is being promoted in the context of the Lingua programme; the European Bureau for Lesser Used Languages (EBLUL) has visited Northern Ireland and has reported on the linguistic situation there (Contact, August 1986); progress on broadcasting in Irish is expected from the Anglo-Irish agreement (Contact, April 1987); the British government has given financial support to an Irish-medium primary school; environmental studies based on local culture are now popular in schools on both sides of the political divide. A recent governmental initiative is the Ultach Trust which is funded by the Northern Ireland Office to promote the Irish language and culture in the North. The word 'Ultach' is an acronym standing for 'Ulster Language, Traditions and Culture'. In an attempt to broaden interest in the Irish language, the Board of Trustees is to consist of almost equal numbers of Protestants and Catholics. The agency is to act as an information centre for Irish language activities, to liaise between government and Irish language activists, and also to work with the EBLUL. Notwithstanding these efforts, there is no escaping the fact that individuals' feelings of national identity are subjective rather than objective and, when desired, can be sustained on a voluntary basis, largely independent of any factual correlates. As the playwright Brian Friel puts it:

> '...it is not the literal past, the "facts" of history, that shape us, but images of the past embodied in language.'
> *Translations*, 1980.

The Irish language was once regarded as the heritage of the entire Northern community; now it is rejected by the majority of that community and it will certainly take a very long time before it is again accepted and valued by everyone.

English as a Second and Foreign Language

It has been pointed out by de Paor (1988) that the achievement of cultural tolerance in Ireland has been rendered very problematic by the unusually homogeneous character of its population. Nevertheless, so many immigrants have come to Ireland, both North and South, that de Paor (ibid.:195) considers it appropriate to refer to 'peoples' of Ireland in the plural rather than in the singular. He emphasises that throughout the ages many population groups, distinct from one other in origin, in speech, in faith, and in culture have come to the country; Darby (1988) has written of the rich contribution which twentieth-century settlers have made to Irish life on both sides of the border. Existing trends towards a pluralistic society are certain to gather momentum in the light of current international developments such as the projected Single Europe, due to come into being in 1992. Such trends have implications for policy regarding the English language in the North.

The population of Northern Ireland includes a number of foreign elements, some of whom intend to reside there for limited periods and some on a permanent basis. In the former category are incoming workers, sometimes arriving under the auspices of the Industrial Development Board, and students on school/ university visits/ exchanges. Notable in the latter category are the Vietnamese refugees to Craigavon whose problems have been chronicled by Kernaghan (1986). These people need courses in English as a Second Language (ESL). At present, such courses are being offered on a regular basis by a small number of Further Education (FE) colleges, but although the level of demand for ESL courses is slowly gaining momentum, provision is ad hoc and many FE teachers feel ill-equipped for their task. The needs of bilingual pupils are, however, specifically mentioned in the draft document which has been drawn up to help establish core content in English for the NI Curriculum (EWG, October 1989:95), so it is likely that English as a Foreign Language (EFL) will become more important in future.

Catering to the English language needs of visitors or immigrants to Northern Ireland is one thing, but looking on the English language as a 'product' for export is quite another. English could be viewed as an important national resource on a par with technical skill or mineral deposits or water power

(cf. Thorburn, 1971). It is already a multi-million pound business throughout the world, and it is interesting to note that in the South of Ireland the teaching of English as a Foreign Language is being energetically cultivated on a commercial basis. A recent issue of the English Language Teaching Gazette (November, 1989) provides a major feature on EFL in Ireland and on page 16 lists fifteen language schools in various parts of the country. Admittedly, the continuing existence of the Troubles makes it difficult for Northern Ireland to be as attractive to foreigners as the Republic, but the success of recent summer schools held at the Queen's University of Belfast (QUB) shows that it is possible to break through this barrier; once goodwill has been built up, students can be drawn in increasing numbers from a particular foreign location.

Both Universities in the North have a commitment to EFL teacher training: the QUB runs a part-time extra-mural course which is well subscribed; the University of Ulster at Coleraine (UUC) pioneered the field with its year-long full-time Postgraduate Diploma in the Teaching of English as a Foreign Language (Dip. TEFL), which has contributed qualified staff to QUB extra-mural and summer courses (as well as to a wide variety of foreign countries). The UUC Diploma, which was the first of its kind in Ireland, has now been linked with a Master's degree by dissertation, entry to which is open to those reaching a satisfactory standard in the UUC Diploma and to those from other institutions holding a qualification equivalent to the UUC Dip. TEFL. At present, Dip. TEFL holders are not allowed to teach in state schools in Northern Ireland because their qualification is not identical to a PGCE. Most are employed abroad; some, however, find employment in state schools in Great Britain or on a temporary, substitute basis at home. In GB, moves are being made to liberalise entry to the teaching body and diversify experience within it by instigating a system of licensed teachers; it would seem a progressive step if some similar structure were to be formalised in NI which would permit TEFLers to teach English at home as well as abroad. There will certainly be an increasing need for TEFL qualifications and experience in the future; already, provision for teaching English to overseas students needs to be expanded at the universities because of the growth of international exchange programmes such as ERASMUS. A possible way forward might be to integrate certain TEFL modules as an option within a PGCE structure, as is the practice at the University of London.

Due to the fortuitous fact that its citizens' mother tongue is one of the most successful international languages which has ever existed, there may be a temptation for the people of Northern Ireland to be lazy about language learning. It is all too easy for those who live in a predominantly monolingual society to forget that in most countries bilingualism is the rule rather than the exception. Modern communications and political developments will make it increasingly necessary for ordinary people to master more than one language; those who are unwilling to acquire this facility will find themselves out of tune with the spirit of the modern European age; they may also find attractive career possibilities closed to them. For these simple pragmatic reasons, (as well as for the deeper purpose of cultural enrichment), language policy deserves the serious attention of both the governmental authorities and the commercial sector in the North.

Footnotes

(1) Prior to 1985, the candidates from the Republic taking 'O' level Irish did so on the borrowed papers scheme through the London Board and therefore do not appear on the statistics of the Northern Ireland Schools Examinations Council.

(2) The teaching of Irish has now been re-instated in Northern Irish prisons, and some of the prison officers are also learning the language.

(3) This is a pun on 'Gaeltacht' - Irish-speaking area.

(4) Some important milestones in the codification of Welsh were the publication of William Salesbury's Dictionary in 1547, Gruffydd Robert's Grammar (1567) and the translations of the Bible and the Book of Common Prayer into Welsh, authorised by Act of Parliament in 1563 (Jones, 1966).

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FORMULATING A NATIONAL LANGUAGE POLICY IN THE EMERGING EUROPEAN CONTEXT: SOME PRELIMINARY CONSIDERATIONS

Pádraig Ó Riagáin and Mícheál Ó Gliasáin

Although reference to the 'European Dimension' has now become de rigueur in discussions of national language policy, it is by no means clear what this dimension may imply. This short paper cannot consider all aspects of the issue but will discuss, in a preliminary way, three related questions that can hardly be avoided in any inquiry into language policy for schools. The first compares Ireland's young population with their EC counterparts as regards languages studied and language competence; the second examines the views and role of the EC on these matters; and the third examines Ireland's particular language needs in the context of our economic and social links with European countries. We will show that while changes are occurring, neither their magnitude nor direction suggest a need for any major adaptation of the relative importance currently ascribed to languages in Irish schools.

The Present Pattern of Language Teaching in Europe

Due to the diverse education systems in EC member states and the way in which language statistics are collected, it is not easy to assemble a comprehensive summary table which allows unambiguous international comparisons of the relative positions of languages in the populations and education systems of member states to be shown (see van Els and Extra, 1987 and van Els, 1988). For this reason, we will rely here mainly on a survey conducted by the Commission of the European Communities in 1987 among a sample of about 7,000 15-24 year olds in all twelve countries of the Community (EC, 1989). This wide-ranging survey included a number of questions on the languages spoken and learned by the respondents, where and why they learned them, and what languages they would now like to learn. The survey is limited in some significant respects; however, having cross-checked some of the main parameters against other sources (cited below) we feel that the overall picture presented in the survey is broadly accurate.

It may help, at the outset, to note that the most widely spoken languages in the homes of this European sample were: English and German (19% each), French and Italian (17% each) and Spanish (12%). These percentages correspond very closely to the distribution of population in the various language areas. However, the main languages that are being studied by these young Europeans (when mother-tongue languages are excluded) are English (60%) and French (42%).

The third most frequently studied language, German (19%), falls some way behind. Apart from being the mother-tongue of two member states, English is now the main foreign language studied in seven of the remaining ten states. French is generally the next most popular language after English, although German assumes this position in some northern countries.

The survey also included a question about the respondents' capacity to speak a language 'well enough to take part in a conversation'. While the presentation of the results in the report is somewhat confusing, the data appear to suggest that about 60% of those who had studied English as a second language claimed the ability to conduct a conversation in that language, with the figures for French and German somewhat lower at about 40%. (Incidentally, independent sources suggest that about 45% of this age cohort in Ireland achieve fluency in Irish as a second language - see CLAR, 1975, Table 3.13; CSO, 1985, Table 5; CCP, 1986, Figure 2). Thus, when the report combined those who could speak a language either as their mother-tongue or as a second language, 52% of young Europeans were reported as being able to speak English. This is almost the equivalent of the combined total for French (31%) and German (26%) speakers. By contrast, these three languages clustered much closer together among those aged 25 and over (32%, 26%, 25% respectively) in another EC survey conducted at the same time (EC, 1987). Thus the main intergenerational change that has occurred has been to enhance the status of English.

However, the question of the number of languages studied by young Europeans is rather problematical. Even in this comprehensive EC report, there is an unresolved inconsistency in the way 'foreign' languages are defined. In places, 'foreign' appears to imply *any* EC language other than the home language. This criterion would, of course, include Irish as a 'foreign' language for most Irish people. Elsewhere in the report, however, there is a clear implication that 'foreign' language means one of the nine *working* languages of the EC other than the home language. This criterion would exclude Irish. The report did not resolve this difficulty with the result that data on Irish, and other languages not classified as EC working languages, were inconsistently and inadequately collected and analysed.

Despite these inconsistencies and ambiguities however, the report clearly shows that the percentage of Irish 15-24 year olds who had studied one 'foreign' language was only marginally below the European average, while the percentage who had studied more than one 'foreign' language was somewhat above average.

On the other hand, with regard to the number of 'foreign' languages which the cohort claimed to be able to speak, Ireland shares the bottom of the EC league with the UK and Italy; but this is not surprising given that the report seriously understates ability to speak Irish and ignores the substantial bilingual and multilingual communities in the UK and Italy which are fluent in a wide variety of languages (see, for example, Campbell-Platt, 1976; IDET, 1986). This stress on the definition of 'foreign language' is not a mere academic quibble but is indicative of a deep and fundamental ambiguity in the EC approach to the language issue. We will return to this question in our next section.

On other counts, it is clear that Ireland is broadly in line with the average for EC member states (c.f. Ireland, 1986; EC, 1988a: 97; Eurydice, 1989). Thus, for example, most knowledge of foreign languages is acquired at school and the teaching of foreign languages does not normally begin until post-primary level. Furthermore, the languages taught in Irish schools include all of the three most widely taught languages in Europe - English, French and German. English is the mother-tongue of most Irish children; the proportions studying French are considerably above the European average (67% compared to 42%), while the proportions studying German are somewhat lower (11% compared to 19%). Finally, Ireland is also in line with the EC as a whole insofar as French is a marked 'female' subject to a much greater extent than other second languages.

The European Community Perspective

Although the European Community has detailed policies to integrate the fragmented economies of member states into one internal market, it has not sought so far to develop a comprehensive and fully articulated policy to deal with the linguistic dimension of integration. The initial thrust of policy seemed to suggest a separation of cultural and economic matters. From the outset, the EC has meticulously accorded equal 'working language' status to all of the official languages of member states (with the exception of Irish and Luxembourgish) in its institutions and operations, even though this has burdened it with truly massive translation and associated costs. This 'testifies to a certain language policy' as one commentator puts it (Coulmas, 1989); but the same author wonders how much longer the EC can continue to literally buy its way past language barriers and avoid the need to develop a more selective policy.

The Community position with regard to the language policies of its member states is, in contrast, quite ambiguous, although certain tendencies may be noted. The general thrust of the EC to eliminate barriers to mobility and communication has inevitably pushed it into some explicit and implicit rules relating to language, the underlying principle of which appears to be that language should not constitute an obstacle to transfrontier mobility. Examples include rules on the labelling of consumer products, language use in transfrontier television, linguistic proficiency requirements, the directive on mother tongue education for the children of migrant workers from EC member states, and more recently, the Lingua programme (De Witte, 1989). It is of particular interest that the basic Community objective of market integration is clearly indicated in the preamble of the Lingua Decision: 'the establishment of the internal market should be facilitated by the quantitative and qualitative improvement of foreign language teaching and learning within the Community to enable the Community's citizens to communicate with each other and to overcome linguistic difficulties which impede the free movement of persons, goods, services, and capital'. (Official Journal, 1989: 24).

The tendency in all of these measures is to create a kind of 'market' for languages similar to the ones being created for capital and labour. 'The question is then whether this should be an entirely unregulated market or whether Community rules allow for the regulation of this market mechanism by preferential policies ... in favour of specific, national or regional languages' (De Witte, 1989).

The prospect here is still rather unclear. Although the Lingua programme is clearly linked to the integration issue, it is also committed to 'preserving the linguistic diversity and cultural wealth of Europe' and thereby seeks to promote 'the diversification of the teaching and learning of languages' (Official Journal, 1989: 24). This articulates the rhetoric of another EC tendency - best expressed, perhaps, in its Regional Policy - which seeks to compensate against the inevitable centripetal processes of the Common Market itself. While the Lingua programme does not indicate how these conflicting policies are to be reconciled, the establishment of the European Bureau for Lesser-Used Languages and the decision of the European Court of Justice in the Groener case (which upheld the right of the Irish authorities to insist on a knowledge of Irish in the case of a Dutch national seeking permanent appointment to the teaching staff of the College of Marketing and Design) may indicate that the Community is prepared not to insist on the totally unfettered operation of market forces, especially in the case of languages whose distribution lies within a national boundary.

However, these tendencies hardly add up to a genuine policy on behalf of either the so-called 'lesser used languages' or even of the smaller Community working languages (Danish, Greek, Portuguese, Dutch). The Lingua programme, particularly in its operational directives, suggests a laissez-faire approach to the issue. But at a time when English is gaining ground as the standard second language taught in European schools and appears to be increasingly used in the publishing industry (Ammon, 1989), media (Collins, 1989) and commercial life generally (Berns, 1988), the most likely consequence of this approach will be the eventual alignment of Lingua with the trends favouring English.

Economic and Social Links with Europe

Although the EC so far has not introduced an explicit policy for languages, international economic and social processes, increasingly involving the EC and its institutions, will have implicit consequences for educational programmes and for languages. Thus it is frequently argued that a vastly extended foreign language programme is necessary for 'practical' reasons. These relate mainly to trade, tourism, investment and emigration. This section will therefore attempt to sketch some of the parameters involved.

After nearly two decades of EC membership, about half (47%) of Ireland's exports to EC countries still go to the UK. Indeed, the European Orientation Programme of the Confederation of Irish Industry acknowledges that 'Ireland's traditional export market has been the United Kingdom and it will probably always remain our number one market' (CII, 1988). No other EC country accounts for more than 15% and most account for less than 10%. However, Ireland has a trading surplus with every EC country except the UK (and, to a minimal extent, Portugal). In fact, Ireland's major trading deficits are with

English-speaking Britain and the USA - and like most other countries, with Japan. This suggests that 'close ties' and mastery of the trading partner's language do not automatically produce trading surpluses for small economies such as Ireland. On the contrary, the fact that we have a substantial trading surplus with the smaller English speaking economies of Northern Ireland, Canada and Australia suggests that other factors besides language are involved. (Data on Ireland's external trade are based on CSO, 1988, Tables 6.2 and 6.3).

This point can be developed further. Within the English language bloc, there are yet more complex relationships between trading patterns and economic development. For example, two of the economies with which we have the largest trade deficits, the USA and the UK, are also the two major overseas investors in Irish industry (SKC, 1987: 18). Although jobs are thereby provided in Ireland, profit repatriation and other linkages between parent and branch firms greatly influence the nature of the economic relationship. While similar processes apply with regard to our other major trading and investment partners, Japan and Germany, the point of interest is that these complex relationships are to be found even when the language factor is controlled.

With regard to 'invisible trade', Britain and North America contribute about three quarters of our tourist revenue, valued at slightly more than our trading losses with the UK and Japan combined (Bord Fáilte, 1988; CSO, 1988). On the other hand, as has recently been pointed out (Murray and Wickham 1990) emigration, particularly among university graduates, may be seen as effectively subsidising the labour training costs of other countries. Such costs can be very considerable. For example, the cost of educating those Irish higher education award recipients who emigrate (over 80% of whom go to Britain and North America) is equivalent to our trading surpluses with Spain, Greece and Denmark combined (Diggens, 1988; HEA, 1988; CSO, 1988). It is interesting in this context to note the suggestion of the National Economic and Social Council (NESC 1989: 514) that 'a unified integrated labour market will require positive policies to co-ordinate and possibly harmonise training and education systems' - the purpose of this recommendation being to provide a mechanism which could compensate precisely for the kind of inequities just noted.

Overall, the limited data available from the European Commission suggest that over 95% of all Irish emigrants go to English-speaking countries and that two thirds of the small number who go to mainland EC countries are in the most English-proficient countries: Germany (47%) and The Netherlands (17%). Only 12% go to France although, as noted earlier, French is by far the most widely taught foreign language in Ireland. In other words, there would appear to be very little relationship between the patterns of foreign language learning and subsequent patterns of emigration.

Predicting changes in these patterns over the coming decade is not easy, and despite all the publicity surrounding the forthcoming changes within the EC, the Community is extremely reticent to project likely shifts in patterns of capital and labour mobility (EC, 1988b). The report of the National Economic and Social Council (NESC, 1989) is likewise uninformative on these issues, although it is clearly apprehensive about the possibility that the changes in the EC will further marginalise the Irish economy. Recent events in eastern Europe may shift the economic centre of gravity further eastwards and further away from Ireland. While these are matters for the future to decide, it is unlikely that long established patterns will change quickly.

Conclusion

In summary, therefore, our brief survey suggests that the European Community, given the shape of its present policy, is not likely to try to unduly influence the language policies and practices of member states. A broad comparison of the patterns of language learning among Irish and European youth does not indicate any major discrepancies; nor do our present trade and migration linkages suggest any serious language shortcomings. In fact, the weak relationship between socio-economic patterns and the pattern of foreign language teaching strongly suggests that language teaching programmes are not in themselves very significant in determining the scale or direction of the flows of capital or labour. The relationships between languages and socioeconomic variables are by no means clearcut and need to be assessed in a way that is 'ridded of ideological cobwebs' (Coulmas, 1989: 31; see also Fishman and Solano, 1989, for a fuller discussion of this issue).

Nonetheless, despite the unsatisfactory state of the data, it would appear that long-term adjustments are taking place in Europe and Ireland in respect of the numbers of young people studying languages and the number and selection of languages studied. We have not examined all aspects of these changes in this paper, mostly because the relevant information is not readily obtainable. There is a clear need for more reliable information on patterns of language learning and language use across Europe and on the way these patterns link in to processes of labour and capital mobility. Whereas it appears probable that changes in language patterns are only partly responding to the factors discussed in this paper, it still remains a matter of some importance to establish more exactly the size and tendencies of these relationships.

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LEABHAIR NUA CHUGAINN/ NEW BOOKS RECEIVED

Áine Ní Ghlinn: Mná as an ngnáth. Séamas Ó Maitiú: Mistéirí móra. An Gúm, 1990. £1.95 an ceann.

Seo dhá leabhar neamhfhicsin as sraith pictiúrleabhar do dhéagóirí. Duaisleabhar Oireachtais is ea leabhar Áine Ní Ghlinn, cnuasach beathaisnéis leithéidí Alice Kyteler, Bidí Early, Mary Aikenhead agus Constance Markievicz in Éirinn agus Florence Nightingale, Marie Curie, Helen Keller agus mná eile i gcríocha thar lear.

Cuid acu, níl aon iomrá sa tír seo orthu, féach Carry Nation as Kansas, mar shampla, bean ghroí a d'fhear cogadh fíochmhar ar an ól agus a bhíodh ag réabadh agus ag scrios tithe tábhairne, ná ar Nellie Bly, ceannródaí iriseoireachta a cailleadh i 1922.

Cur síos ar eachtraí aisteacha a tharla agus atá gan miniú fós atá i 'Mistéirí móra': an Marie Celeste, mallacht Thútancamóin, srl.

Tá géarghá le leabhair den chineál seo do dhéagóirí. Stíl shimplí fheidhmiúil a chleachtaítear iontu. Ba mhaith an smaoineamh aistriú Béarla ar na heochairfhocail a chur ar imill na leathanach i leaba gnáthfhoclóra ag deireadh an leabhair. B'fhiú barúil na léitheoirí a fháil air seo. Tá na léaráidí le Peter Haigh thar barr.

Doiminic McQuillan agus Eamon Stack: Cúrsaí gnó, cuid 1. Maireachtáil agus an cúlra eacnamaíochta agus gnó. An Gúm, 1990. £4.95.

Aistriú é seo ar *Business matters*. Dhá chuid atá sa leagan Gaeilge, agus seo an chéad chuid. Sa Ghúm féin a tiontaíodh go Gaeilge é agus ní mór a rá gur aistriú críochnúil atá curtha ar fáil. Is cúis misnigh do chainteoirí Gaeilge téarmaíocht ghnó agus oifige a bheith ar fáil anois san *Foclóir Staidéir Ghnó* a d'fhoilsigh an Gúm i 1989. Tá an téarmaíocht le feiceáil i gcomhthéacs sa leabhar seo. Céim mhór chun tosaigh é: tá seilbh ag an nGaeilge anois ar réimse eile de shaol an lae inniu, réimse a bhfuil baint ag gach uile dhuine leis.

Languages in the 1990s: proceedings of the MLTA's third national modern language convention, edited by Bébhinn Ó Meadhra, Bill Richardson and Cormac Ó Cuilleanáin. Dublin, Modern Language Teachers' Association of Ireland in association with Dublin City University, 1989.

The written record of the third Modern Language Convention contains a varied collection of material, some long, mostly short, which paints an accurate picture of the language teaching situation in Ireland.

The proceedings are divided into keynote lectures, workshops, of which there were sixteen, a panel discussion on practical problems and a forum on issues of concern to the language teachers' associations. Emphasis is on practical matters, and this is to be welcomed.

Professor Piepho puts his cards firmly on the table in his keynote lecture, emphasising his commitment to a multilingual and multicultural Europe 'where each citizen grows up embedded in a vernacular language and culture, which may be a small island of ethnic identity, but equipped with other languages and the capacity to participate in several cultural identities'. The topics chosen for comment are based on issues on the programme of the SAMEO symposium 'Language teaching methodology for the nineties', held in April, 1989. The issues in question (to mention but a few) range from communicative language teaching, teaching of grammar and learner-centred pedagogy to LSP, literature and language teaching and teaching languages to special categories of learner - adults, gifted and slow learners and the handicapped.

On the question of grammar, Piepho predicts the disappearance of the dichotomy traditionally associated with the teaching of grammar and the lexicon on the grounds that grammar as well as vocabulary 'constitutes meaning in texts and should therefore be dealt with in its potential of generating meaning'.

The teaching of culture presents problems. Piepho admits that suitable techniques are not easy to find. Attention is also drawn to the fact that learning about a 'foreign' culture inevitably leads to examination of one's own!

Two topics not the subject of comment are literature and language teaching (on the grounds that the subject is too wide for brief comments), and technology, to which only a supportive function is ascribed, a view with which most teachers will agree.

The last topic discussed is teaching languages to special categories of learner. Piepho has been engaged in research on teaching FL across the ability range, to the unmotivated and to physically and mentally handicapped people. For him it is a key socio-political issue. FL competence has always been part of the education of the élite. Today, both intercultural awareness and foreign languages should be an 'accepted component of everybody's education and lifelong education in Europe'. A commendable, but perhaps unrealistic aspiration for speakers of widely-spoken languages; indeed, it recalls an incident in a Netherlands school when an important French visitor had occasion to congratulate one of the pupils on his excellence in French. To which the pupil replied, 'Yes, I speak your language, but why do you not speak mine?'

Altogether, this written version of what must have been a very stimulating lecture will be useful reading for those who participated, as it will remind them of what was said, and for those who did not, it will update their knowledge on current topics in FL teaching and learning simply by reading these brief comments by a recognised authority in the field.

The second keynote lecture, also by a recognised expert, is devoted to the vexed question of grammar, the bane of both teachers and students. Dr. Cook describes himself as a 'hard-line applied linguist', who believes that language teachers should be aware of developments in linguistics touching their discipline, whether or not they accept them. The study of grammar has made much progress in the last ten years, and

Cook here sets out to describe the linguist's approach to grammar, contrasting it with 'traditional' grammar, equated with structuralist applied grammar, and with descriptive applied grammar. Both of these approaches have a long history in language teaching.

The linguistic approach is based on Chomsky's distinction between I-language, which is internal and introvert, the seat of mental reality and grammatical competence, and E-language, which is external and extrovert, the language actually produced and used in society, that of communicative competence. Language teaching, in Cook's view, has concerned itself so far only with E-language.

Among recent models of syntax with a bearing on language teaching, Cook selects Chomsky's government binding theory. It describes grammar on the basis of principles common to all languages and a set of parameters in which they differ. These parameters are easy for learners to grasp. Cook concludes that many of the oddities of a language are not connected with grammatical rules, but with the way words are used with grammar. This approach leads ultimately to a re-emphasis on the teaching of vocabulary. The implications for learners' dictionaries are obvious.

In classroom terms, this approach looks rather like an advanced language awareness programme. Whether it would be more successful in helping learners to learn is another question; the proof of the pudding, after all, is in the eating... In the meantime, one can but agree with the author that linguists' grammars may indeed be of practical interest to teachers 'once they can be in a form that is accessible to them'.

The workshop synopses cover a variety of topics. Among the newer ones are the GCSE language syllabus in Northern Ireland (Williams and Tracey), computers in the language classroom (Cordón), foreign language in the primary school (Hurley and Dorr) and multilingual learning in a remedial stream (Ó Meadhra). This last describes an attempt to get slower pupils to learn a smattering of many languages to improve their motivation. While it does seem to have been a success, it certainly makes unusual demands on the teacher. How many language teachers would have the skills and confidence to become animators and innovators of the kind needed for this undertaking?

The reports on issues facing the different languages are instructive. It is good to learn that the Association of Teachers of Italian in Ireland is now independent of the UK body, and that the situation of Italian is set to improve. The Minister for Education's policy of promoting Italian by financing substitutes to free 'dormant' Italian teachers so that they can devote more time to teaching Italian has helped. It is to be hoped that the Association's initiative in organising its own fee-paying Leaving Certificate course will have the result intended.

Spanish also is improving, although problems exist in the areas of examinations, textbooks and inservice training for teachers wishing to use the communicative approach.

While teachers of Irish welcome the new Junior Certificate syllabus, the provision of an integrated curriculum from primary school entry to Leaving Certificate remains their ultimate goal. Concern is also expressed regarding the lack of oral assessment in the new examination.

The main worry of teachers of German is their inability to respond to the unprecedented demand for the language in schools in the last few years. Needed resources in personnel and inservice training are not to be had.

Lack of inservice training is also a subject of concern to the French Teachers' Association. It is revealing to see that the Association perceives the current demand for German as a threat to the status of French. It is difficult to believe that the main foreign language studied in Irish schools would ever be dislodged by another language. While the public mind is fickle, geographical realities do not change. So take heart, French teachers!

This publication faithfully reflects the current state of second and foreign language teaching in Ireland. The MLTA are to be congratulated on making it available to us.

It must be said that the lack of an ISBN on this book is a departure from the proceedings of the second convention, why? The cover also is fragile in the extreme - libraries would need to send their copies to the binder before allowing them out on loan.

NOTICES OF LECTURES, SEMINARS, CONFERENCES

1990	Sponsor	Theme & Contact	Venue
21-26 July		Conference on computer-assisted language learning and the use of computers in the humanities (School of European Languages and Literature, Queen Mary College, University of London, Mile End Road, London E1 4NS, UK)	Harrogate UK
1-6 September		V international conference on the history of linguistics (Dr. A. Ahlqvist, ICHoLs V Organizer, University College, Galway, Ireland. Tel. +353 91 24411/2499; Fax +353 91 25700; Telex 50023 ucg éi)	University College Galway
27-29 September	German Society for Applied Linguistics (GAL)	*Ein Europa - viele sprachen:* 21st annual congress (GAL, Universität Duisburg, Fachbereich 3: Romanistik, Postfach 10 15 03, D-41 Duisburg 1, FRG)	Bonn FRG
2-4 October	Association for Terminology & Knowledge Transfer & Infoterm	*Terminology & knowledge engineering*: 2nd international congress (Gesellschaft für Terminologie und Wissenstransfer, Universtät, D-5500 Trier, FRG)	Trier FRG
15-18 October	Ministry of Education & Culture	International conference on language revival in honor of the centenary of Modern Hebrew (Mrs. Riva Peshin, Division for Adult Education, Ministry of Education and Culture, 20 Mamilla Street, 91911 Jerusalem, Israel)	Jerusalem
19-20 October	Royal Irish Academy National Committee for Modern Language Studies	*Language teaching at third level:* annual research symposium (The Secretary, Royal Irish Academy National Committee for Modern Language Studies, (Annual Symposium), Academy House, 19 Dawson Street, Dublin 2.)	University of Ulster Coleraine
2-4 November	West European Modern Language Association	*The teaching of foreign languages in Europe:* colloquium (Michel Candelier, Vice-President, FIPLV, 26 rue Pierre Sémard, F-75009 Paris, France)	Rotterdam Netherlands
21-25 November		EXPOLINGUA: international fair for languages, translation and international communication (Mainzer Ausstellungs GmbH, Alexander-Diehl-Strasse 12, D-6500 Mainz 26, FRG)	Frankfurt FRG
1991			
12-16 August	FIPLV	*Foreign language learning and lifelong education:* XVII world congress (P. Basel, National Center for Foreign Language Teaching of T.I.T. XI, Bocskai ut 37, H-1113, Budapest, Hungary)	Pécs Hungary
1993			
8-15 August	AILA	*Language in a multicultural society:* X world congress (Dr. Johan Matter, Vakgroep TTW 9A-23, Vrije Universiteit, Postbus 7161, NL-1007 MC Amsterdam, The Netherlands)	Amsterdam
1994			
28 March-1 April	FIPLV & Fachverband Moderne Fremdsprachen	XVIII world congress (FIPLV Head Office, Seestrasse 247, CH-8038 Zürich, Switzerland)	Hamburg FRG

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Between 5,000 and 6,000 words.

Presentation

Manuscripts must be typewritten on one side only of A4 paper, with ample margins on both sides.

Original copies of diagrams should be submitted.

References

In alphabetical order by author at the end of the article as shown below:

Baumgarten, R. (1986). *Bibliography of Irish linguistics and literature 1942-1971.* Dublin, Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies.

Ó Baoill, D.P. (1987). Cén chanúint í sin? *Teangeolas*, 23, 8-12.

Léirmheasanna

Bíonn fáilte roimh chóipeanna léirmheasa de leabhair a bhaineas le cúrsaí teanga agus le teagasc agus le foghlaim beotheangacha.

Reviews

Review copies of books on language matters and teaching and learning of living languages are welcome.

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Foilsítear 'Teangeolas' dhá uair sa bhliain. Tá sí ar fáil saor in aisce ó:

ITÉ
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Baile Átha Cliath 2.

Is é cuspóir na hirise eolas a scaipeadh ar shaothar ITÉ agus ailt a sholáthar ar ghnéithe éagsúla den teangeolaíocht fheidhmeach agus ar fhoghlaim agus ar theagasc beotheangacha.

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'Teangeolas' is published twice a year. It is available free from:

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